The Social Tribe

From Shared Consumption to a Search for Collectivity

Frederik Neergaard Hemmingsen
Student ID: 636842
Oliver Lund Storgaard
Student ID: 646047

Abstract

Traditional marketplace community research focuses on the relation between communities and brands but lacks emphasis on the deeper layers of community culture and consumers' role in creating collective identity.

Through a participatory ethnographic study, this paper explores how Tinkuy as a non-brand focused tribe can be understood as a marketplace community and to which extent the culture can explain how members form identity.

Despite certain inconsistencies in the culture, Tinkuy has a strong identity rooted in a collective and social search for spiritual balance and a better society. Tinkuy exists as a modern manifestation of the yearning for the re-emergence of emancipatory collectivity where important dualities affect how the individual searches for collective meaning.

The tribe resides between the spheres of society and the market, which means that Tinkuy can be viewed not as a consumer tribe but rather a social tribe where consumption in a traditional sense is absent.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The marketing literature traditionally understands brands from an inside-out perspective where brand managers control and transmit brand identity to internal and external stakeholders (Merz, He, & Vargo, 2009). Contemporary research proposes that brand meaning is co-created through a set of social processes in which involved stakeholders continuously renegotiate the brand's identity in relation to their own. This paradigm shift entails new ways of understanding the creation of meaning and value in the marketplace.

Research within the marketplace community has focused on the interplay between brands and brand community identities and derived brand recommendations from these identities (Kornum, Gyrd-Jones, Al Zagir, & Brandis, 2017). Tribal research has attempted to separate the conflated concepts of consumer tribes from brand communities to foster alternative tribal guidelines for marketers and leverage tribal membership roles to create sustainable loyalty that the brand can capitalise on (e.g., Canniford, 2011; Mitchel & Imrie, 2010; Silva & Santos, 2012).

These approaches all focus on the relation between communities and brands but lack emphasis on the deeper layers of community culture and consumers' role in creating collective identity. Supporting this claim, Merz and colleagues (2009) call for further investigation of how non-brand focused communities co-create value and meaning. Through a participatory ethnographic study, this paper aims to extend the emergent literature on non-brand focused marketplace communities to facilitate a more nuanced understanding of contemporary tribal mechanisms and examine how culture can be used to understand community identity. This objective is captured in the following research question:

How can a non-brand focused tribe be understood as a marketplace community and to which extent can culture be used to explain how consumers form identity within the tribe?

Philosophy of Science

The philosophy of science is the lens through which the researchers operate; it involves the assumptions made about the nature of reality and what constitutes acceptable knowledge (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Accordingly, the adopted perspective governs the research process and plays a pivotal role in obtaining scientifically valid results. Further, understanding one's own assumptions is a necessary prerequisite for critically evaluating, challenging, and changing them where appropriate.

Ideally, researchers should espouse the philosophy of science that best allows them to satisfy the purpose of the study, which in turn should guide the choice of research approach, strategy, and type (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). The purpose of this study is first and foremost to answer our research question, and in this process seek to unearth the mechanisms of consumption and individual and collective identity formation in our chosen marketplace community.

Thus, we ontologically accept the interpretivist view of social constructionism, perceiving these social phenomena as emanating from the perceptions and consequent actions of the social actors involved (Ibid.). To fully understand the behaviour of the members engaging in the marketplace community, we deem it necessary to explore the subjective meanings motivating these actions. We view the nature of reality as being socially constructed and in constant flux, changing depending on the individuals perceiving and interpreting it, as opposed to a static objective truth identical to all perceivers. Following this logic, we understand the identity of the marketplace community as constantly evolving and as taking different shapes depending on the member perceiving it.

Likewise, we epistemologically accept interpretivism, acknowledging the necessity of understanding differences between humans in our roles as social actors (Ibid.). The marketplace community members and their perceptions are thus key components of our research. Adopting an empathetic stance is central to our role as researchers, and a prerequisite for entering the social world of our research subjects and comprehending the world from their perception. Further, it is crucial for obtaining rich, detailed data necessary to satisfactorily grasp the complexity and uniqueness of the researched social construct, which is "*...a function of a particular set of circumstances and individuals coming together at a specific time*" (Ibid., p. 116).

We axiologically acknowledge that our research is contingent upon our values. Interpreting the meanings and social unfoldings in our research, we will unavoidably act and understand through our own set of values, thus entailing subjectivity and inseparability between us and the research.

These standpoints underline our research as qualitative, in which we as researchers are close to the investigated subjects, adopt a processual understanding of the scrutinised phenomena, seek a contextualised understanding of behaviours, values, beliefs, and meaning and work with rich, deep data gathered in natural settings (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

Literature review

Marketplace Communities

According to McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig (2002), a community is composed of its members and the relationships among them. These communities can usually be identified by the commonality or identification among members, whether in the form of a neighbourhood, an occupation, a recreational activity, or brand devotion. Communities are instrumental to human well-being, and foster the sharing of cognitive, emotional, and material resources among its members (Ibid.). It is essential to note that the sharing of these resources may or may not take place in all communities, but "one thing seems always to be shared: the creation and negotiation of meaning" (Ibid., p. 38).

Over the last few decades, scholars have started to scrutinise communities in the marketplace through precedents from the fields of marketing, sociology, consumption studies, and cultural studies, seeking to understand their impact on elements such as customer brand loyalty and the co-creation of brand meaning. From the body of literature, four key community types have been investigated, namely a) subcultures of consumption b) brand communities c) brand publics and d) consumer tribes. The literature on each of these communities will be discussed in the following sessions.

Subcultures of Consumption

The concept "subcultures of consumption" was pioneered through an ethnographic study on the Harley-Davidson communities in the USA undertaken by Schouten and McAlexander (1995). Emerging themselves in a participatory field study for three years, the authors conducted an analysis focused on social structures, dominant values, and symbolic behaviours.

Across a multitude of Harley-Davidson communities, complex, hierarchical social structures was found to govern member interactions while reflecting the status differences among individual members (Ibid.). They found an individual's status in a given group to be a function of the individual's

commitment to the ideology of consumption of the group. The most committed members of a sub-culture act as opinion leaders and arbiters of meaning, while less committed members contribute with important material support and adulation of committed members (Ibid.).

Schouten and McAlexander (1995) find that the dominant values of a subculture condense into an identifiable ethos, or a set of core values. This ethos is accepted by adherents to varying degrees and plays a crucial role in governing the behaviours displayed by the subculture, including brand adop-tion and usage. If multiple subgroups coexist within a subculture, the expressions of the ethos may vary to a great degree, depending upon and reflecting the cultural or socioeconomic idiosyncrasies of the subgroup. The commitment to brand and product usage behaviour can be held with "religious intensity" (Ibid., p. 55), and be enhanced by missionary-like behaviours undertaken by enthusiastic members.

The authors identified a general socialization process undertaken by neophyte members, in which they enter at the bottom of the social hierarchy and undergo a transformation of themselves and their motives for involvement. In the case of Harley-Davidson, the process begins with experimen-tation with a biker persona, redefining self-presentation through conformity and imitation. The so-cial performance is self-evaluated through impact on and feedback from relevant audiences. Fur-ther, commitment and concomitant status are contingent upon material and social investments. Over time, individuals may internalise the subculture's ethos and symbolic behaviours, gradually becom-ing a hard-core member (Ibid.).

As such, members of a subculture of consumption derive an important part of their understanding of self from their shared connections with other subculture members and undergo a transformation of self which allows the adoption of desired values into the self.

Based on the investigated subcultures of consumptions, the authors identified ripe opportunities for marketers to engage in symbiotic relationships with consumers through these communities. Having understood the structure and ethos of a subculture, marketers can assist in socialization of new members, facilitate intra-subculture communication, and sponsor brand promoting events. In turn, marketers can hope to accrue increased customer loyalty, publicity, and rich consumer feedback, among other benefits (Ibid.). Finally, marketers may attempt to broaden the appeal of a marginal subculture to the mainstream consumer market, but must do so with caution, as they run the risk of diluting the subcultures original appeal and alienating highly committed members.

Unearthing these promising benefits helped fuel the generation of interest in the research field, leading to further exploration and sophistication of the concept of consumer communities.

Brand Communities

The concept of brand community was pioneered by Muniz and O'Guinn (2001), and further investigates how consumers and fans create "structured sets of social relations" (Ibid., p. 412) and a consistent set of shared meanings around brands and consumption practices. The authors define a brand community as "A specialized, non-geographically bound community, based on a structured set of social relations among admirers of a brand" (Ibid., p. 412).

As such, the notion of brand community shares similarities with subcultures of consumption such as shared ethos, acculturation patterns, and status hierarchies. However, important differences exist as well. First, the Harley Davidson-focused subcultures of consumption take upon themselves an outsider status with a significant marginality and an outspoken outlaw culture. Also, the Harley Davidson brand has such potency that it is described as "...in effect, a religious icon, around which an entire ideology of consumption is articulated" (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995, p. 50). In this regard, it deviates from the brand communities described by Muniz and O'Guinn (2001), which are more moderate and mundane. Second, the brand meaning of Harley Davidson is conveyed as socially fixed, whereas Muniz and O'Guinn (2001) understand brand communities as having an active interpretive function where brand meaning is socially negotiated. Finally, Schouten and McAlexander (1995) tend to minimize the focus on collective identities in favour of the transformation of self of subculture members, thus taking on an individual-centred approach. Muniz and O'Guinn (2001), on the other hand, prefer a more social constructionist perspective.

Studying a US neighbourhood of 14 homes in Fairlawn, Muniz and O'Guinn (2001) conducted face-to-face interviews followed by a second phase of computer-mediated communication analysis. In Fairlawn, the authors found evidence of brand community. "The brand communities are social entities that reflect the situated embeddedness of brands in the day-to-day lives of consumers and the ways in which brands connect consumer to brand, and consumer to consumer" (Ibid., p. 418). Five of the nine household informants were part of at least one brand community, while others share brand-based affiliations of a less communal nature. Saab, Apple Macintosh, and Ford Bronco were the most prominent examples of brands market by community, but also Zippo lighters, Coca-Cola, Star Trek, and the X-files were significant.

Members of brand communities were found to possess developed understandings of their own feelings towards the focal brand and co-users (Ibid.). Three important markers of brand community were evident, namely a) consciousness of kind, b) shared rituals and traditions, and c) a sense of moral obligation (Ibid.).

These three markers are echoed by McAlexander and colleagues (2002), who likewise encounter them in their studies of Harley Davidson and Jeep brand communities. However, in the case of the Jeep community, these three characteristics did not equally exist before the members attended a Camp Jeep event, also called a brand fest.

Consciousness of Kind

This marker is regarded as the most important element of community and entails a felt we-ness. Members feel a strong connection to one another and that they "sort of know each other" (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001, p. 418) at a certain level, despite never having met. Therefore, the authors propose perceiving a brand community as a triangular brand-consumer-consumer relationship rather than a brand-customer dyadic constellation. McAlexander and colleagues (2002) agree on diverting from the dyadic brand-customer relationship but propose a different understanding through their customer-centric model of brand community shown below. They argue that construing brand community as a social aggregation of brand users and their relationships to each other and the brand overlooks other factors that are vital in supplying the brand community with commonality and cultural capital (Holt, 1998 in McAlexander et al., 2002). These factors are the product, as consumers value their relationships with the branded possession (Belk, 1988), marketing agents, and the institution that owns and manages the brand, and customers likewise derive significant value herefrom (Doney & Canon, 1997 in McAlexander et al., 2002; Arnould & Price, 1993). As such, the customer derives value from relationships to the brand, the product, the marketer, and other brand users.
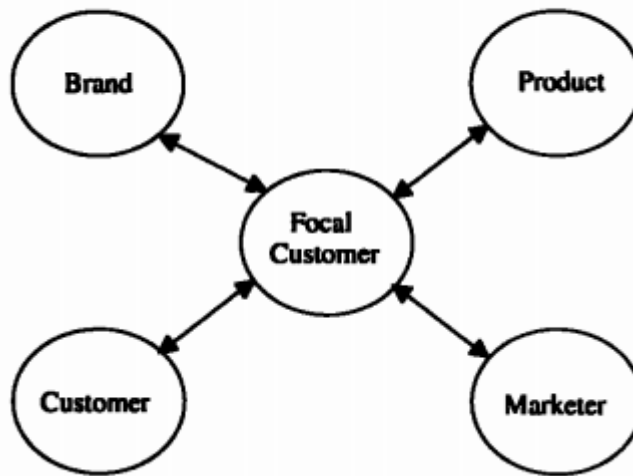
Figure 1 - The Consumer-Centric Model of Brand Community, McAlexander et al., 2002

Members often perceive a clear demarcation between brand users and users of other brands. This often entails viewing users of the same brand as distinct or special, and this notion transcends geographical boundaries. "Members feel part of a large, unmet, but easily imagined community" (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001, p. 419). This feeling is enhanced by computer mediated communication and social networks.

The communities are governed by a legitimacy process in which members differentiate true community members from non-members and from members who occupy a marginal community space. The differentiation is often based upon truly knowing the brand as opposed to using it for the "wrong reasons", which is typically embodied as failing to fully appreciate the culture, history, rituals, traditions, and symbols of the community. (Ibid., p. 419). Brand communities generally welcome all new members, but a status hierarchy prevails among members.

Another social mechanism perpetuating consciousness of kind is oppositional brand loyalty. Through actively taking distance to competing brands, the community derives brand meaning and delineates what the brand is, and what it is not. One prominent example of oppositional brand loyalty found by the authors is that of members in the Macintosh brand community, who explicitly take opposition to PCs, PC users, and PC software giant Microsoft.

Rituals and Traditions

Rituals and traditions constitute key social processes by which meaning of the community is reproduced and transmitted internally and externally (Ibid.). Some permeate the community and are understood by all members, while others are localised in application and origin. Shared consumption practices with the brand are usually the foundation for these rituals and traditions, which facilitate the maintenance of the culture of the community. One example found by the authors is the flashing of the cars headlights, when a Saab driver passes another Saab on the road.

Celebrating the history of the brand is another social practice which reinforces community culture (Ibid.). Brand community members are often highly aware of the history of the focal brand, and derive distinctiveness and meaning from the brand's achievements over time. Typical achievements include the legacy of technological innovation, important events, and personages such as great leaders and innovators. Thus, the history of the brand impact the shaping of the current community values. For Apple, for example, a sense of underdog achievement and superior innovation is derived from the company's history, closely linked to the widely recognized persona Steve Jobs. Being familiar with the history of the brand's history often differentiates true members from marginal members, constituting a form of cultural capital as it demonstrates expertise, membership status, and community commitment (Ibid.). Further, it adds value to the consumption experience and incentivises members to become stronger and more informed brand advocates.

Sharing brand stories is a significant factor in creating and maintaining community, as the verbalised common experiences with the brand infuses it with meaning, while meaningfully linking community members (Ibid.). Often, the same brand stories will be told over and over again, despite members already having heard the story. This storytelling is an important mechanism as it reinforces consciousness of kind, contributes to the feeling of imagined community and assists in learning communal values.

Moral Obligation

Communities are characterised by a shared moral responsibility, which is defined as "... a sense of duty to the community as a whole, and to individual members of the community" (Ibid., p. 424). Further, "this sense of moral responsibility is what produces collective action and contributes to group cohesion" (Ibid., p. 424). The moral responsibility permeates the community and is not limited to life and death matters, but also governs everyday social commitments. Moral systems can be

subtle and highly contextualised and are particularly evident in two communal missions a) integrating and retaining members and b) assisting brand community members in the proper use of the brand.

Integrating and retaining members are crucial elements in ensuring the long-term survival of the community, which constitutes a prime concern and thus a basic responsibility of community members. Retention is often stimulated via stories of brand superiority and perceiving brand switching as "betraying the brotherhood", usually with potential negative consequences for interpersonal relationships to community members (Ibid.). Thus, a collective corrective force serves to perpetuate loyalty to both the community and the brand.

Assisting in use of the brand includes assisting other members in their consumption of the brand. Often this moral responsibility manifests itself as helping members, for example where a member can help repair the product or solve a problem of a fellow member through specialised knowledge amassed over several years of brand consumption. Saab drivers report stopping and offering their help when they come across another Saab on the side of the road, simply because it seems like the "right thing to do" (Ibid.). Interestingly, this moral responsibility is only felt among Saab drivers, why brand community members rarely stop to help people driving other car brands. Further, this moral responsibility expresses itself through the sharing of brand-related resources, such as information on the product, where to buy it, and where to get it repaired. Especially information sharing takes place in computer-mediated communication.

This knowledge sharing benefits both neophyte and experienced members (McAlexander et al., 2002). Neophyte members gain expertise and social approval from veteran members, while the veterans benefit through the status awarded to them in their assumed leadership roles. Therefore, the socialization process is symbiotic and benefits the community as a whole through reciprocal value exchange.

Despite exhibiting high levels of brand loyalty, brand community members' attitude towards the focal brand is often nuanced and contains criticism of various aspects of the brand and its management (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). Brand community members may feel that the brand belongs to them as much as to the manufacturer, taking upon themselves a sense of responsibility and moral obligation. They believe that the manufacturer and marketers should be good and faithful stewards of their brand, which demonstrates a self-aware and reflexive consumption ethic (Ibid.).

McAlexander and colleagues (2002) believe the study of brand communities deepens the current understanding of customer loyalty, which is correlated with the level of integration in a brand community: "The more each relationship [in the customer-centric model of brand community] is internalized as part of the customer's life experience, the more the customer is integrated into the brand community and the more loyal the customer is in consuming the brand" (McAlexander et al., 2002, p. 48). As such, understanding and strengthening brand communities constitute an opportunity for marketers to build and deepen customer loyalty. Further, community-integrated customers serve as brand missionaries, voluntarily advocating the brand and make up valuable brand assets.

Finally, McAlexander and colleagues (2002) contribute to the literature by calling for a dynamic treatment of the dimensions of a) geography, b), social context c) temporality, and d) basis of identification, which traditionally have been treated statically.

Despite being defined as nongeopgrahically bounded (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001), brand communities may either be geographically concentrated, scattered, or exist solely in the nongeographical space of the internet. Studies have traditionally considered as belonging to one of these categories and remain there over time. Instead, McAlexander and colleagues (2002) propose that changes can occur, exemplified by a temporal geographic concentration such as brandfests (McAlexander & Schouten, 1998).

Social context and member interaction may be either rich or nearly non-existing and it may predominantly take place face-to-face, be mediated by electronic devices, or a function of corporate mass media. Members may have extensive knowledge and data about each other, or they may have nothing more than openly displayed discourse. There is limited understanding of movement along this continuum, such as the effect of providing a mass-mediated brand community with the opportunity for context-rich social relationships.

For the temporality dimension, brand communities may be either stable and enduring over time, or ephemeral and temporary. A stable brand community can constitute an asset to marketers when it forms a long-term stable market characterised by a high level of brand loyalty. However, even ephemeral communities may give rise the sharing of meaningful consumption experiences (Arnould & Price, 1993). McAlexander and colleagues (2002) raise the question of what happens after such an ephemeral relation ends, and if temporality may be correlated with changes in other dimensions, such as social context.

Regarding the basis of identification, communities may be based on a range of commonalities such as kinship ties, occupations, religious beliefs, or leisure pursuits (Ibid.). In any person's life, community memberships may overlap and interlock; an effect often overlooked by brand community scholars. Acknowledging this complicates the study of brand communities, but also give rise to the possibility of scrutinising new facets of the subject, such as the effect on a brand community member's commitment to the community when a relative or friend enters it.

Conclusively, the brand's position on these continua can be influenced. Thus, marketers can strengthen brand communities by facilitating shared customer experiences in ways that alter these dynamic dimensions.

Brand Publics

Arvidsson and Caliandro (2015) put forward the concept of brand publics as a way to understand the ways in which consumers create value around brands on social media. "A brand public is an organized media space kept together by a continuity of practices of mediation" (Ibid., p. 727). They emerge from a high number of isolated expressions with a common focus and do not, contrary to brand communities and subcultures of consumption, build on sustained forms of interaction or a coherent collective identity.

The concept of publics is derived from modern social theory; a public is shaped when a crowd of individuals is given stable focus such as a newspaper, a mediated event, or a celebrity (Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015). The public remains in existence in so far as the mechanism of mediation operates, implying that if the newspaper ceases to publish, its public disintegrates. As such, publics are artefacts of mediation which are conceived and sustained by media devices.

For one to become a member of a public, nothing more than accepting the act of mediation is required, or in other words paying attention (Warner, 2002 in Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015).

As opposed to the strong social bonds inherent in brand communities form which members derive identity and meaning, the observed relations on social media like Facebook, Twitter, and blogs are more ephemeral and less structured, why they cannot be regarded as communitarian (Kozinets 2013; Mcquarrie, Miller, & Phillips, 2013 in Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015). It seems social media platforms give rise to fleeting forms of association with one another, where personal publicity, appearance, and visibility rather than identity and belonging prevail. Further, value co-creation is steered by private or collective affects, as opposed to common values and deliberation.

The prominent form of sharing in publics is often devoid of communicative interaction with other members. This is coined pseudo-sharing by Belk (2014), where shared opinions, perspectives, and experiences are communicated without expecting reciprocity or formation of community. One application of pseudo-sharing is communicating to stimulate one's identity and others' perception hereof. In Arvidsson and Caliandro's (2015) study of Louis Vuitton, individuals were found to publicize pictures on Instagram and Twitter using the hashtag #louisvuitton to classify themselves as someone for whom the brand is relevant or significant. As such, the motives and meanings of individuals' utterance are diverse "brand publics are made up of structured aggregations of heterogeneous meanings without the formation of collective values" (Ibid., p. 743).

Another key characteristic of publics is the formation of waves of imitation facilitated by the ease of reposting or retweeting the utterances of other members. This possibility for re-mediation without interaction generates a fundamental orientation towards publicity-oriented sharing (Ibid.).

Three key ways in which brand publics and brand communities diverge have been identified. First, whereas brand communities are sustained by social interaction, brand publics are sustained by mediation (Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015). The focal brand is not the centre of attention in the brand publics but is rather given publicity through mediation devices like hashtags which compile a multitude of private utterances. Second, discussion and deliberation structure the communication in brand communities, whereas the ditto in brand publics is structured by either private affects such as the want for visibility or for sharing something deemed relevant or by collective affects which foster waves of imitation. Third, brand community members identify with shared meanings developed in the community. This process does not occur in brand publics, which resonates brand-related meanings and identities articulated elsewhere rather than forming coherent collective identities around the focal brand.

Given the internal heterogeneity of brand publics, scrutinising them holds less potential for thoroughly understanding the consumer behaviour and motives of its members compared to brand communities and subcultures of consumption. This is also due to the peripheral role that the brand is given when the individual's wish becomes the central locus of communication. However, brand publics still provide valuable qualitative insights into consumers' usage and perceptions of the brand, along with costless sharing, stimulation of awareness, and individuals embedding the brand with values of their choice. The latter is external to marketers' control of brand meaning, underlin-

ing the co-creation of brand meaning central to the stakeholder perspective (Merz et al., 2009). Applying these findings may entail difficulty for marketers, as Arvidsson and Caliandro (2015) propose that dimensions of brand publics may coexist with those of brand communities to various degrees.

Consumer Tribes

One of the most vital contributions to the field of tribal consumer research is made by Bernard and Veronique Cova (2001), who challenged the traditional standpoint on postmodern social dynamics and attempted to engage the field from a new perspective. Postmodern consumer research is affected by the interpretive trends in consumer research that focus on the consumer experience and its implications for various stages and interpretations of the customer journey. One of the postmodern consumption approaches used in tribal studies is the ethnosociological. As opposed to the traditional psychological approach, in which marketers investigate the influences of A on B, the ethnosociological approach would attempt to examine the 'glue' or shared emotions between A and B, thereby taking a less individualistic and more holistic stance on towards consumption and the interaction within its territory (Ibid.).

Cova and Cova embrace the Latin view of the role of marketing, which unlike the Northern school of thought contends that products and services are consumed not only for their use value but also their linking value. This concept relates to the contribution of products or services to establishing or reinforcing collective bonds between individuals. This approach supports products and services that bring people together and facilitates community feelings and shared emotions (Ibid.).

Through their research, Cova and Cova (2002) seek to present an alternative tribal approach to the dominant marketing discourse: a re-establishment of communal embeddedness. Their tribal approach is based on a sociological foundation that diverged from the prevalent understanding of social dynamics in the postmodern society. They characterise this era as being led by individualism, leading consumers on a quest for liberation from social bonds. The deteriorating collective constraints of education, family, and sex facilitate a process of personalisation of the individual as a way of differentiating and confirming identity. They assert that the consequence of this extreme individualism is a fragmented society with severe social dissolution, where people live isolated lives without physical social interaction while being in virtual touch with the world through online media (Ibid.).

However, attempts at re-composition of the social structure as a reverse movement towards social arrangements and new communities have been evident. These social groupings have stronger behavioural influence than modern institutions or cultural authorities, and through them, people are trying to recreate the social link. While the myriad of experiences and emotions that make up the social dynamics of modern society are often understood through individualism, these reversal trends indicate an emergence of tribalism (Ibid.).

The tribe metaphor is used to describe the social dynamics taking place in the process of uprooting the individual from societal progress and constraints. If postmodernity can be understood as the synergy between archaism and technology, the tribe seeks a return to the pre-modern imagination that has been rejected by modern structures. This imagination is evoked by a re-emergence of quasi-archaic values shared to a certain extent with the tribes of archaic societies: a local sense of identification, religiosity, syncretism, and group narcissism (Ibid.). The concept of a tribe is used in anthropology to describe collective behaviour that resists established institutions in premodern societies and conveys the same characteristics of local linguistics and cultural homogeneity in an ethnic group. The social dynamics of postmodern tribes share the following attributes with archaic tribes (Ibid.):

a) they do not rely on a central power to maintain social order, and codified rules that govern behaviour seldom exist
b) the tribes act as a collective counterpower to institutional power
c) tribes gather around non-rational elements and values like loyalty, emotion, and passion
d) tribes participate in a process of re-enchanting the world

A common trait for the postmodern tribes is the gathering in communities around shared ordinary passions. However, Cova and Cova (Ibid.) argue that the 'community' concept is widely used with different meanings, for which reason the term should be used cautiously to avoid misconceptions. In the English language, it is used for describing a body of people with something in common or conjoined by a common interest, while the meaning in the Latin countries refers to blood-related bonds. Robert Kozinets (1999) has researched *virtual communities*, referring to gatherings of people who share norms of behaviour or certain defining practices online. These groupings share consumption-oriented cyberculture, social interaction, and social ties in a common 'cyberspace', for which reason he argues that the term community seems appropriate. Kozinets (Ibid., p. 254) delves deeper into

subgroups of virtual communities, *the virtual communities of consumption*, and defines them as '*af-filiative groups whose online interactions are based upon shared enthusiasm for, and knowledge of, a specific consumption activity or related group of activities'*. In virtual communities of consumption, consumption knowledge is developed together with social relations, group norms, and identity, and the initial journey for information transforms into one of community and collective understanding. The process of identity formation within these virtual communities relies on two factors. The first is the centrality of the community consumption to a member's self-concept or identity. The more central the consumption activity is to a person's self-concept, the more likely that person is to seek membership and adopt similar community values and identities. The second is the intensity of social relationships with other community members. While these factors influence the identification process of virtual community members, the same factors might not be relevant for tribal members, as consumption plays a different role for tribes (Ibid.).

Postmodern tribes are unstable, not anchored by the parameters of society and can be held together by shared emotion and passion. They display such strong ties because of their temporality and exist by virtue of the symbolically and ritually embodied commitment of their members. Tribes are in a state of fluctuation caused by the repetitive symbolic rituals but lasting only as long as the power of attraction of these rituals. The tribe members maintain and negotiate identity through reconstruction and repossession of meaning through shared experiences and emotions. While the postmodern tribes have certain archaic values, they also present some clear differences from the archaic tribes (Cova & Cova, 2002):

1. they are ephemeral and non-totalising gatherings. Premodern tribes were permanent and totalising
2. an individual can belong to several postmodern tribes, while people could only belong to one archaic tribe
3. the boundaries of postmodern tribes are conceptual, while the archaic tribes were physical
4. postmodern tribe members are connected by shared feelings and re-appropriated signs. Archaic tribe members were connected by kinship and dialect

Being part of a tribe does not exclude living a mainstream life, but the tribes often exist unnoticed side by side our social life. The Latin approach views society as a network of micro-groups that share strong emotional links and create their own understandings of meaning and symbols. The in-

dividuals within these groups form tribes, which are somewhat undetectable to traditional sociological scrutiny. When individuals belong to several tribes with different roles and understandings of meaning, the rational marketing tools cannot classify them into a certain social class or segment. This means that the dynamic and flexible positioning within and between these tribes become more important the understanding and creation of identity and meaning than belonging to a social class or caste (Ibid.).
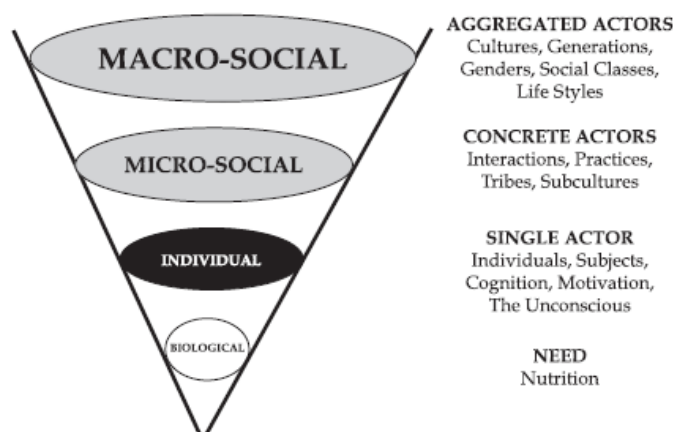
Figure 2 - Social Perspectives, Cova & Cova, 2002

Cova and Cova look at consumption from a micro-social perspective in which the interaction of people is at the centre of attention. Here lies the primary sociality, which consists of everyday interactions and emotions, and consumptions is used as a tool to create societal frame through social and tribal links. Most consumer research is devoted to the individual or macro-social levels (Ibid.).

The micro-social perspective is termed 'consumption studies' by Østergaard and Jantzen (2001) and moves beyond the 'consumer research' perspective, where the consumer is viewed as an independent tourist who is trying to collect ever more experiences in a narcissistic project. In 'consumption studies', the individual is seen as a tribe member and the unit of research is no longer the individual but the group. The tribe members create a tribal metaphysical universe around product symbolism. They consume goods not for their use value but for what they communicate to others.

The notion of tribes has always existed under various names and forms, but the main difference between modern tribes from the 1960s and 1970s and postmodern tribes lies in the adoption of both primary and secondary group structures in the modern tribes. As a primary group, members bond through shared experiences but still interact with secondary actors outside the tribe. However, the

tribes cannot be directly compared with reference groups or psychographic segments. Tribes focus on the bonding element that connect the individuals in the tribe, as opposed to the normative influence of a group or individual on other members. Members of postmodern tribes do not have set personality traits or similar values, but express aspects of their personal life and desires through shared experiences. These desires create a diversity and a fluctuation in life span of the tribes that render psychographic segments unable to aptly describe the tribe members, and so tribal marketing must adapt from traditional marketing in order to successfully serve tribal customers (Cova & Cova, 2002).

The tribes share certain traits with other concepts of social groupings, which is useful when defining the tribes and understanding their boundaries. Tribes are different from vogues or trends that tend to ignore shared emotions among individuals and are set apart from brand communities that are explicitly commercial and brand-focused in nature, despite sharing many similarities with the tribes. However, these postmodern social groups or communities do share an affinity for products or services that strengthen community links and foster a sense of belonging. Focusing on the linking value of marketing challenges how customer loyalty can be achieved and how marketers should approach these customers.

Tribal members value intimacy over proximity and individualised customer service without an emotional bond or collective link. Traditional relationship marketing focuses on the relation between firm and customer, but the tribal approach should support the tribal relationship between customers. The tribal approach positions the company as a support of the relationship between company and tribe and uses rituals and cult places to build affective loyalty (Ibid.).

Identifying the Tribe
Identifying tribes are not an easy task, and the fleeting nature and shifting gatherings of emotionally bonded people make the use of modern marketing tools ineffective. Tribes convey two primary traces of identity or signs that members identify with: temporal and spatial traces. The tribes emerge, grow, zenith, and dissolve with a timeless and fragmented logic that leaves traces of their current stage of progress. Spatially, the tribes gather and perform rituals in anchoring places that act as momentary homes for the tribe. These can change and take on more formal or informal shapes as new members arrive, and old ones depart.

In order to recognise the tribe, Cova and Cova (Ibid.) explains how the researcher must abandon traditional monodisciplinary approaches in favour of more explorative and narrative practices. First, desk research on mentions of the tribe in media, websites or forums should be conducted to gain an overview of the activities of the tribe. This should be followed up by semi-structured and non-structured interviews with tribe members to gain insight into the rituals and conceptions about the tribe. Third, the tribe and its rituals should be observed in action with participant and non-participant observations by the researcher.

The figure below illustrates the signs that a tribe leaves of its rituals and gatherings. The framework operates on a somewhat metaphorical level between the visible and invisible or intangible traces of the tribe. The axis of visibility encompasses the physical evidence that spans between the temporal plane, when members spend time together in rituals or gatherings (occasions), and the spatial plane, which are the physical and virtual meeting places of the tribe (institutions). On the invisible axis are the hints and signs detected from the concrete everyday dealings and shared experiences to the imaginary fantasies, trends and conceptions that exist in society.
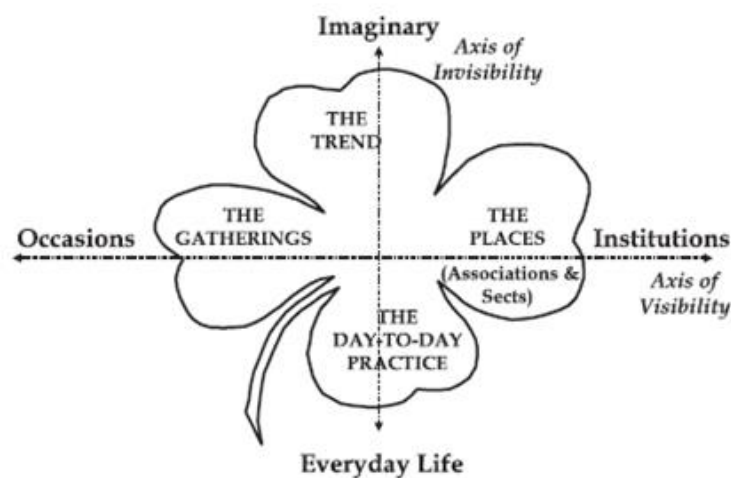
Figure 3 - The Tribal Clover, Cova & Cova, 2002

From this framework Cova and Cova created four tribal roles that members of postmodern tribes adopt and their relation to each other:

1.   *devotees*, who are members of the institutions that the tribe resides within

2.   *participants*, who show up for informal gatherings, rituals, or happenings

3. *practitioners* with a somewhat regular daily involvement in the tribe and its rituals

4. *sympathisers*, who are marginally involved with tribe as long as membership complies with the current trends or vogues
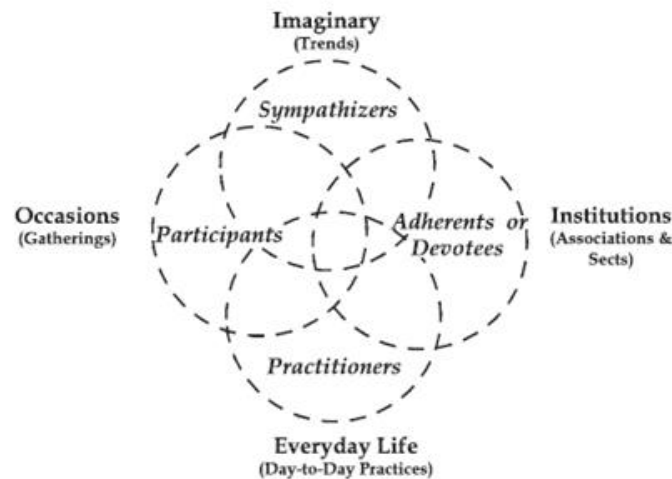
Figure 4 - Roles of Members, Cova & Cova, 2002

While Cova and Cova build their understanding of tribal spheres, roles, relationships on the invisible and visible signs and hints that tribes leave behind, Kozinets applies his two factors of virtual community identification – centrality of community consumption to self-identity and intensity of relationships with other members – to create a matrix of distinct member types within a community. The *tourist* does not share strong social ties with the community and shows only passing interest in the consumption activity. The *mingler* maintains strong social ties but does not share a strong passion for the consumption activity. *Devotees* are individualistic with weak social ties to the community but have a strong interest and passion for the central consumption activity. Last, is the *insider*, who is both passionate about the consumption activity and has strong social interactions with other members in the community (Kozinets, 1999).

High Self-Centrality of
Consumption Activity

Devotee   Insider

Weak Social ←——————→ Strong Social
Ties to   Ties to
Community   Community

Tourist   Mingler

Low Self-Centrality of
Consumption Activity
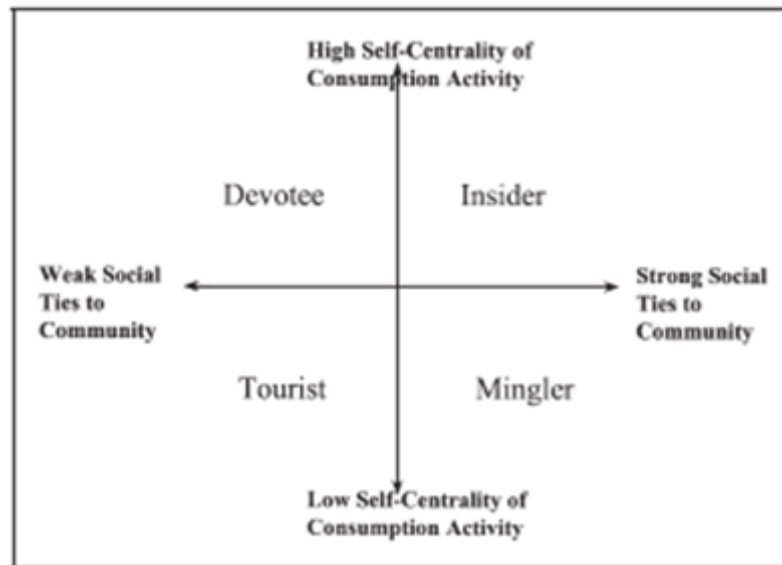
Figure 5 - Types of Community of Consumption Member - Kozinets, 1999

He further asserts that each community member type has different opportunities and needs, and therefore have different objectives and orientation of communication towards and within the community. Devotees and tourists have little interest in engaging in strong social interaction with the community and tend to use the informational mode of interaction for advancing individualistic goals, oftentimes at the expense of other members' needs. Minglers and insiders are usually more social and relational in their communicational approach. For these community types, social interaction is reinforcing the values that they build their identity upon, and their social orientation manifests in long-term growth either through community cooperation and interaction or through enforcement of communal standards and values.
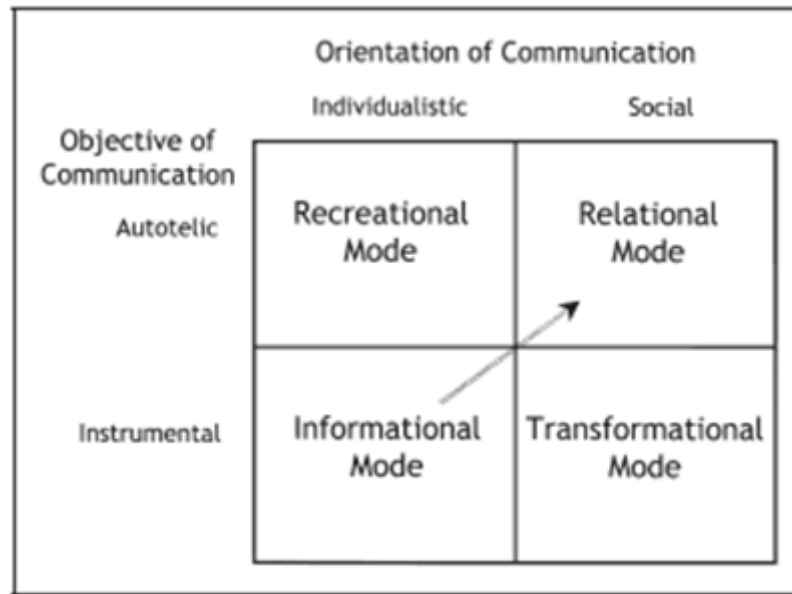
Figure 6 - Community of Consumption Interaction Modes, Kozinets, 1999

In the recreational mode of communication, communication is the objective in itself, pursued primarily for individualistic reasons of self-affirmation. Social interaction remains superficial in this mode, limited mostly to greetings and small talk. In the transformational mode of communication, members seek objectives with long-term social gain that involve change of either the structure, social composition, or behaviour of the community or in certain cases a more personal change through the community and its activities (ibid).

Understanding the mode of communication within these online communities of consumption or *e-tribes* could be key for gaining new insights into the tribal realm in its different forms and conceptions. Based on his modes of interaction, Kozinets (Ibid.) argues that four distinct types of virtual communities exist and that integrating these types into the practices of marketers could facilitate the formation of alliances between community and organisation. *Dungeons* originally referred to the textual and verbal sphere in which the players of 'dungeons and dragons' played out their fantasy games. It can also be used to describe digital environments where people interact socially through role-playing. These environments are mostly inhabited by minglers and insiders who focus on the consumption of virtual technologies of fantasy and play through a structured mode of recreational interaction. An expansion of the concept of dungeons are *Rooms*, otherwise known as Internet Relay Chats, where people gather and interact in real time, but without the imposed structure and setting of the fantasy role-play. Mostly populated by minglers and visitors, *Rooms* act as arenas where

people mainly communicate via recreational and relational modes in loose social structures. *Rings* are organisations of related homepages, termed *web rings*, where people exchange structured information-orientated consumption interests. Similar to rings are *Lists* that contain groups of people gathered on an e-mail list with the purpose of sharing information about a certain consumption topic. *Boards* are some of the most consumption-related communities, organised around interest-specific electronic bulletin boards. Mostly insiders and devotees interact in this community, where messages are read and posted in public discussion forums. This means that Boards can have wide exposure and influence on certain segment's consumption habits (Ibid.).
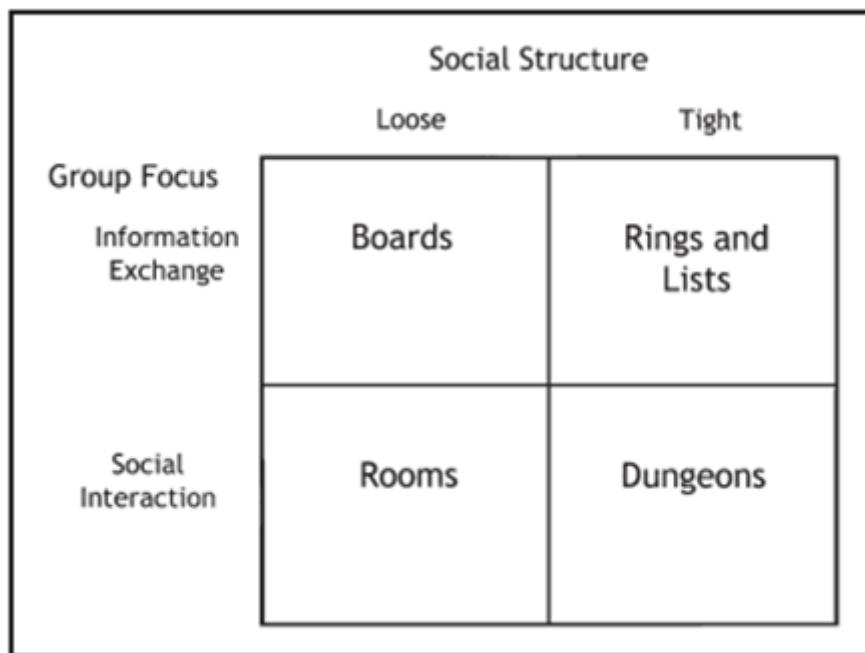
Figure 7 - Types of Communities of Consumption - Kozinets, 1999

In virtual communities, consumers form different forms of e-tribes centred around computer mediated technology to exchange consumption knowledge, socialise, and play. While these communities can act as an unstable and difficult medium through which to engage with customers, virtual communities of consumption might provide valuable insights about the habits and desires of consumer tribes in a more offline and grounded setting.

Reconceptualising the Tribe

While both papers by Cova and Cova and Kozinets are written in the early 2000s, other researchers have since used their theories and ideas to investigate the concept of tribes in a modern setting. Cleo Mitchell and Brian Imrie (2011) combine concepts from both authors in order to investigate tribal

membership, and how tribal roles can be leveraged to create sustainable brand loyalty. Mitchell and Imrie suggest that shared consumption is a way of creating social links and building bridges between individuals in the post-modern world, and that those consumer tribes provide marketers with an opportunity to relate to these consumers. The two authors accept the idea of symbolic consumption as a means of creating a social link through which to express self-identity on a group or tribal level. In extension of this concept, they discuss how consumption acts as a tool for recreating tribes in the post-modern society, in which consumers adopt shared consumption behaviours, activities, and social interaction around shared values and passions.

In order to determine why people engage in consumer tribes, Mitchell and Imrie reframe Kozinets' two parameters from his matrix of member roles in virtual communities and name them *antecedents of tribal membership*. They argue that centrality of consumption to self-identity and intensity of social relationships with other members can be applied for consumer tribes. However, they only vaguely justify their broad expansion of Kozinets' concept for virtual communities to consumer tribes. They combine this with Cova and Cova's idea of membership types among consumer tribes and Oliver's (1999) concept of loyalty in order to construct a framework that seeks to investigate (1) the formation of consumer tribes, their consumption of goods and services, and (2) how firms can support this process and earn loyalty. The concept of the framework is illustrated below, where bonded loyalty between tribal members and a firm can arise if the balance between understanding the tribal antecedents and providing the correct support for tribal relations and interaction is achieved (Mitchell & Imrie, 2011).
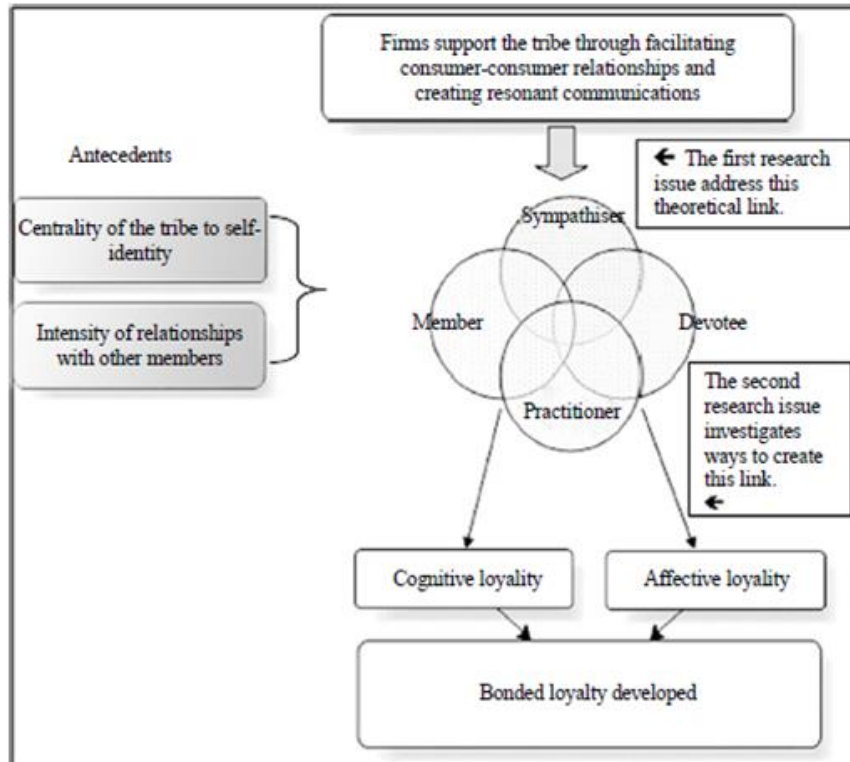
Figure 8 - Mitchell & Imrie's Conceptual Framework for Tribes, Mitchell & Imrie, 2010

While the line between Kozinets' e-tribes and Cova and Cova's consumer tribes may seem blurred today, and both have been instrumental for conceptualising the contemporary understanding of tribes, the two concepts were, at the time, separate entities and deserve a more thorough discussion of compatibility if they are to be combined again in future works.

Regardless of above critique regarding the method, the results from the case seem interesting and relevant for the understanding of consumer tribes. Mitchell and Imrie investigated the case of a group of vinyl record collectors and their formation of a tribe through sharing of consumption behaviours and interaction. Through in-depth iterative interviews with several tribe members, they found that the tribe was centred around a shared passion for listening to, playing, and collecting vinyl music records. Three tribal values were shared among the members. First, a common desire for uniting people through shared music consumption and interest. Second, a shared an appreciation for quality, art, and heritage in relation to vinyl records. Finally, the acquisition itself and the 'hunt' towards the purchase, where knowledge and preferences are discussed and disseminated, gave the members a sense of purpose to collecting and sharing within the tribe (Ibid.).

Understanding these tribal values gave the researchers insights into the members' motivation for joining and participating in the tribe. The tribal membership roles and the antecedents were used to analyse the relationship and interaction between the members, and the antecedents were found to be relevant drivers for collective consumption, emphasising the need for firms to connect with the consumers on a collective and tribal level in order to market themselves successfully. The social context and linking value surrounding vinyl record consumption is what connects the tribe members, and firms must meet the consumers within their own arenas, away from standardised online marketing (Ibid.). Firms should support the consumers' involvement with the tribe, facilitating collective activities and align their marketing strategy with the tribal values and relationships. As a result of these insights, the researchers proposed certain tools that can help firms or organisations achieve loyalty with tribes.
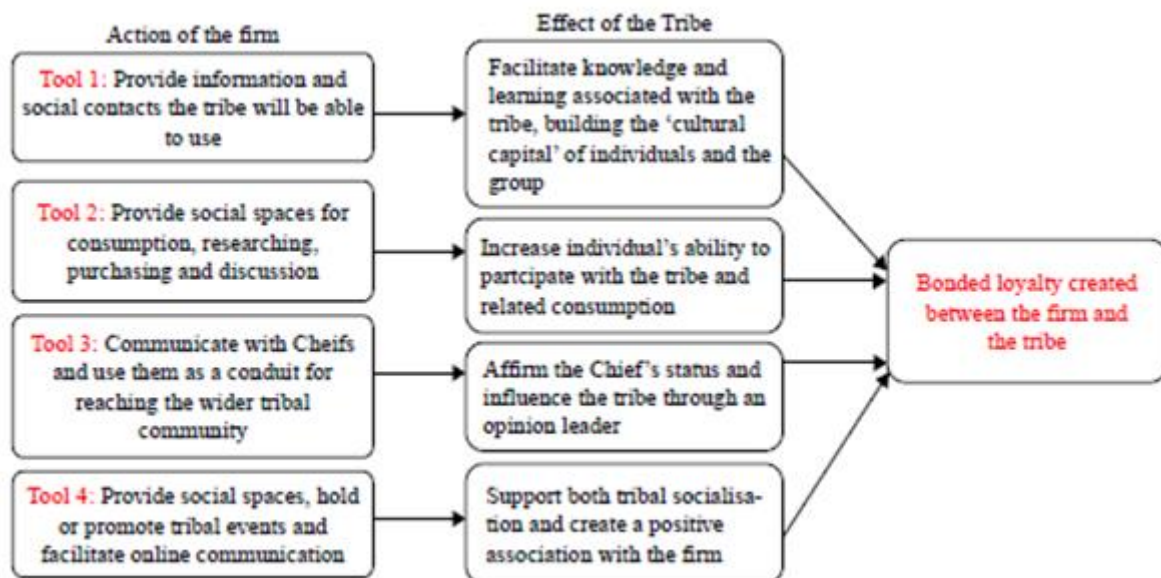
Figure 9 - Building bonded loyalty through a firm's support of the tribe, Mitchell & Imrie, 2010

These tools are the product of an investigation that supports many of the elements and concepts of Cova and Cova and Kozinets' earlier works, but they add an actionable approach that can be used as a benchmark for analysing ties between firms and the tribe. These tools may not be generalisable to other tribes, and specifically the importance of the Chief in the case of vinyl record collectors should be approached with caution, depending on the nature and composition of the tribe.

Other contemporary researchers have focused on the untapped marketing potential of consumer tribes, and on how organisations can connect with and facilitate tribe interaction. Robin Canniford (2011) contextualises the complicated notions of marketplace communities in order to separate the concepts of *subcultures of consumption*, *brand communities*, and *consumer tribes*, providing an alternative guideline for fostering tribal relationships. Canniford argues that consumer tribes exhibit four key characteristics. First, tribes are *multiple* in the sense that tribal membership can occur in flows between several consumer tribes, allowing for different personas depending on the affiliation. Second, tribes are *playful* and members engage in 'active play' with the resources available in the marketplace. In this process, tribes deconstruct and reassemble many of these resources in the hunt for the reinvigoration of passions and new forms of linking value. Third, tribes are *transient* in their different stages of emergence, morphing, and disappearance. They may at one moment be critical and liberatory only to give in to sensory pleasure the next. Fourth, tribes are *entrepreneurial*. The combination of playfulness and an open-minded attitude towards the market spurs innovation and breeds entrepreneurial spirit (Ibid.).

While the communal marketing environment is ripe with opportunity, marketers tend to conflate consumer tribes with brand communities in their marketing strategies. Tribal processes are likely to outrun the messages designed for the more static brand communities, and marketing efforts run the risk of stifling the creative productions of linking value to the tribal resources. As tribes maintain a state of playful and transient co-creation within the marketplace, Canniford ponders whether tribes should be managed at all, and instead suggests five interdependent ways of 'seeding' consumer tribes in a way that is aligned with tribal theories. The notion of a 'seed network' is a hybrid collective of different resources in the marketplace that can support tribal members in their hunt for linking value and act as a platform on which they can play, plunder, and create. To operationalise this concept, Canniford suggest fie interdependent means by which consumer tribe can be 'seeded' (Ibid).

Providing the platform. An important part of tribal marketing is to provide a stage on which to improvise performances and assemble culture, and establishment of strict cultural scripts and strong traditions that can normally help facilitate organisational growth may do more damage than good.

Hybrid culture. Consumer tribes are emotionally constructed through shared consumption, and the resources and network that surround a tribe are called into being through their associations with each other. Marketers should abandon prior constellations and values regarding the traditional role of consuming subject and consumed object, realising that tribal value and identity lie within this entangled and hybrid network. Calling these networks and resources together to form an inclusive and dynamic arena, which fosters relationships and conversations with consumers, is key for establishing tribal opportunities for linking value.

Communities of affect. Tribes are driven by passion, and the shared and ephemeral moments in which the members come together can provide a temporary loss of the everyday self where emotional and experiential boundaries are explored. To facilitate these emotional responses, firms need to construct symbiotic platforms that allow the tribe to reach beyond the mundane. This requires an understanding of the core values of the tribe and the co-creation of an environment where members can feel safe and grow together.

Network opportunities. Marketers must be attentive to the needs of the networks that tribes live within. Instead of providing a completely new arena for the tribe to exist in, marketers should seek to insert their services, products, or brand into the already existing platform of the tribe as a point of passage that acts as a cultural corridor that helps the tribe grow linking value inside the network.

Identity in flux. The different people, institutions, places, and resources that exist within a tribal network may have differing strategic goals, and as a result of this instability tribes may seem transient and unpredictable. Identities within the tribe may be characterised as 'fluid rather than fixed', and the consumers' desire for constant change, while complicated to fully grasp, unlocks great potential if managed correctly. A strong and stable relationship with consumers may cross a fine line beyond which the tribe may feel threatened. Through constant movement and creative change, these difficulties can be avoided.

Seeding a consumer tribe requires a different approach and mind-set compared to constructing a brand community. The dynamic and uncertain nature of tribes makes attempts at structured advice futile. The seed network should be viewed as a fluid guide for fostering platforms into which the organisation can insert points of passage. These can be utilised to create hybrid forms of resources as they emerge or morph into new forms (Ibid.).

Susana e Silva and Mariana dos Santos (2012) investigated tribal behaviour in order to guide brands in the identification of tribal bonds. Interestingly, they argue against Cova and Cova's notion of a tribe as non-reliant upon a central power of governance by emphasising the importance of the tribe leader. The tribe leader acts as an opinion leader who exerts influence over other members and a facilitator of socialising within the tribe. Leaders affect the adoption of innovation through word of mouth, which plays an important role in tribal communication and brand involvement.

Silva and Santos (Ibid.) developed a model of levels of involvement of the consumer with brands. The model illustrates different levels of affection and involvement in the consumer-brand relationship and can be used to identify how close a firm is to connecting with a tribe. At the same time, it characterises the marketing evolution over time, from a transactional relationship to a co-created network with tribes. The *corporate level* refers to the most basic marketing strategy with no consumer involvement. The relation to consumers is transactional and mass communicated to an undifferentiated group of consumers. At the *product level*, strategy is materialised through the delivery of a product or service to customers that can initiate the start of a relationship between firm and customer. The *experience level* encompasses interaction platforms with consumers, where they enjoy dynamic experiences at a personalised level. Consumers feel understood and relate to the firm. At *tribal level* consumers become an active part of the brand that form interest communities around the brand. The consumers share common passions that include the brand or is facilitated by it, and they connect with each other through the brand to establish emotional connections that goes beyond consumption.
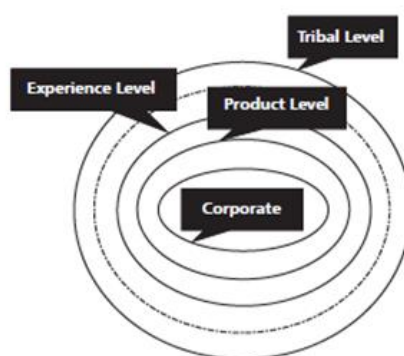
Figure 10 - New Orbit View Model, Silva & Santos, 2012

In their paper, the two authors implement their model in search for ways that firms can effectively support tribes and their unique consumption patterns. They examined tribal phenomena in a Portuguese community of Prius enthusiasts. Through in-depth interviews and analysis, they found key features that characterises a tribe: They share *values* and *rituals* surrounding their passion, they have a form of informal *hierarchy*, a deep *connectivity* and sense of *pride* in regard to their community and shared passion, and they oftentimes feature a *leader* role who influence communication, mostly through *word of mouth*. Having identified key features of a tribe, the authors propose a model of commitment between firm and tribe that relate different stages of commitment with the resources available to the firm.

Support the tribe

Firms can commit to a tribe by supporting the tribe's base of existence. This can happen both when the tribe emerges and at more mature stages of the tribe's growth. Resources can be either economic or logistic, by providing physical space for the tribe members to meet or by assisting in organising events. It is important to maintain the tribe's autonomy, and the firm should avoid collision with the firm as well as keeping a certain degree of institutional distance between the two entities. The firm can use the tribe leader as a gateway for communication with the tribe, but the firm should make sure that the support remains invisible, indirect, and irregular.

Feed the passion

In the second stage of commitment, the firms should aim to recognise the tribe's actions and status in order to make them feel appreciated and special. They need to feed the passion of the tribe toward a certain product or service. This can be done by providing first-hand information about the product or giving special benefits over other customers. Tribes want to feel like they are participating in a partnership and not merely the end of a good deal, and firms should embrace this attitude and include the tribe in relevant decisions.

Integrate the tribe

Firms can facilitate a partnership with tribe members, so that they become ambassadors for the brand, both inside and outside the tribe. Integrating the tribe in both offline and online marketing plans in order to cultivate a deep and strong relationship. The tribe will know the strengths and weaknesses of the brand and can push the positive narrative to other customers and mitigate any

negative reviews or mentions. This requires a strong commitment from the firm to the tribe, and the more resources the firm devotes to the tribe, the higher is the tribalisation of the brand (Ibid.).

Concluding Marketplace Communities

Having reviewed the academic literature on marketplace communities, it is evident that communities exist in a wide plethora of shapes and sizes, from idolising subcultures of consumption to product-centred brand communities, virtual brand publics, and passion-driven consumer tribes.

Most of the research of marketplace communities has been focused on brands, and especially on brand communities. Concluding an extensive review of the stakeholder dynamics of value co-creation in the contemporary brand literature, Mertz, He, and Vargo (2009) request further research into the processes of non-brand focused communities and their relations to brands. The relatively little research that has been conducted on consumer tribes has mostly focused on identifying and characterising the tribes and not investigated underlying identity and cultural mechanisms.

Due to their elusive nature, the process of distinguishing both offline and online marketplace communities from one another be difficult. Post-modern brand managers' interpretations of consumption communities oftentimes conflate tribes with brand communities, resulting in static and deliberative communication, which fits brand communities but fails to facilitate the linking value that emerges from the playful and ephemeral nature of tribes (Canniford, 2011).

In order to provide useful and actionable recommendations for connecting with consumer tribes and facilitating linking value, we must investigate the interplay between organisational identity and culture.

Identity

Much of the literature on organisational identity shares the fundamental idea that identity is a relational construct that is formed through interaction with others (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). This also holds true for Hatch and Schultz's (2002) research, which contributes to the literature by applying Mead's understanding of the self and his concepts of 'I' and 'me' to organisational identity theory. Mead (1934) proposes that the process of social experience and activity gives rise to the self. Thus, the self develops in an individual as an outcome of her relations to this process and to other individuals within the process.

Mead perceives the social process of identity formation as having two simultaneously distinguishable and interdependent phases, namely the 'I' and the 'me' (Ibid.). The 'me' is the self a person is aware of; the sense of self. It is what is learned in interaction with others through social processes about the social environments, other people's attitudes, and attitudes internalised in the self. It contains the individual's expectations about the attitudes of generalised others and the influence hereof.

The 'I' can be understood as the individual's response to the attitude of the social context. The 'I' is something the individual is unaware of, something not given in the 'me' (Ibid.). The reactions of the 'I' can be spontaneous and creative, but within the context of the 'me'. The social rules learned in the 'me' will govern how the reactions of the 'I' is expressed.

Together, the two constructs of 'I' and the 'me' constitute an individual's personality as it emerges in social contexts.

To ensure a valid application of Mead's theory on individual identity formation to collective identity formation, Hatch and Schultz (2002) leverage the work of Jenkins (1996). Jenkins proposes that the processes by which individually unique and collectively shared identity are produced, reproduced, and changed are analogous. However, while Jenkins (1996) renders the conceptual separation of the self and the social context analytically valuable, he renders it insufficient in fully understanding the formation, maintenance, and change of identity. Jenkins (1996) then continues to propose that articulating the processes that derive identity from the internal and external definitions of the organisation might be used to advance Mead's ideas in the context of collective identity. This is the call heeded by Hatch and Schultz (2002), who constructed the Organizational Identity Dynamics Model:
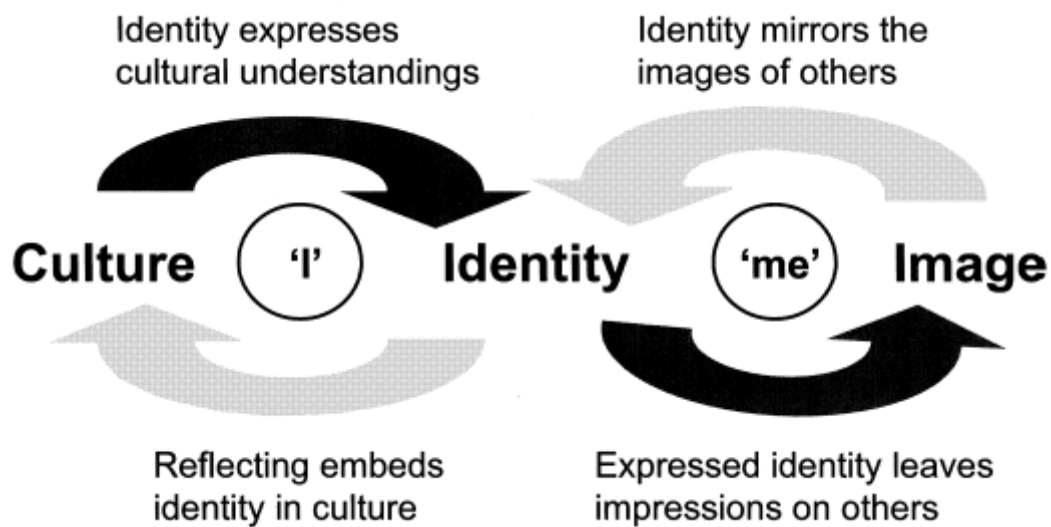
Figure 11 - The Organisational Identity Dynamics Model, Hatch & Schultz 2002

"By analogy, the organizational 'me' results when organizational members assume the images that the organization's 'others' (e.g. its external stakeholders) form of the organization" (Hatch & Schultz, 2002, p. 995). Dutton and Dukerich (1991, p. 550) define organisational image in the following way: *"what [organizational members] believe others see as distinctive about the organization"*.

Hatch and Schultz (2002, p. 995) depart from this definition, but argue for adjustment as *"...the images formed and held by the organization's 'others' are not defined by what insiders believe about what outsiders perceive, but by the outsiders' own perceptions (their images), and it is our view that these organizational images are brought directly into identity processes by access and exposure…"*

Following this argumentation, the authors' own definition of organisational image amounts to *"...the set of views on the organization held by those who act as the organization's others"* (Ibid., p. 995). As such, this definition captures the notion that others' images are part of organisational members who form their mirrored images from them, but also to some extent independent of these organisational members. Conclusively, the organisational 'me' is constructed when organisational members presume the images formed of the organisation by the organisation's others, such as its external stakeholders. The analogue for Mead's 'I' is organisational culture. To be an apt analogue for 'I', the concept must be something of which the organisation is unaware, and something not given in the organisational image or 'me'. Further, it must be responsive to the attitudes of others.

Organisational culture is commonly regarded as tacit rather than explicit, operating sub-consciously (Ibid.). It resides in deep layers of meaning, values, beliefs, and assumptions, rather than how others perceive it to be. Finally, culture responds to the attitudes of others as a context for every activity creating meaning. As such, organisational culture aptly serves as an analogue for Mead's 'I'. The definition of organisation culture proposed by Hatch and Schultz (2002, p. 996) reads: *"...the tacit organizational understandings (e.g. assumptions, beliefs and values) that contextualize efforts to make meaning, including internal self-definition"*.

The concepts of identity and culture are tightly connected and share similarities and are often used to define one another in the literature. To conceptually distinguish the two, Hatch and Schultz (2000) propose three dimensions along which the two concepts diverge: textual versus contextual, explicit versus tacit, and instrumental versus emergent. These opposite poles can aid in defining both identity and culture, where identity is more textual, explicit, and instrumental compared with culture, which is more contextual, tacit, and emergent relative to identity.

By analogy to Mead's theory, it follows that organisations form their identities in relation to culture and image or internal and external definitions of self just as individuals from theirs in relation to 'I' and 'me'. Exactly this relationship is what is illustrated in the Organizational Identity Dynamics Model constructed by Hatch and Schultz (2002). What is further depicted in the model are the four processes by which identity is created, maintained, and changed. The two processes of 'identity mirrors the images of others' and 'reflecting embeds identity in organizational culture' regard the influence of stakeholder images on organisational culture, whereas the processes of 'identity expresses cultural understandings' and 'expressed identity leaves impressions on others' regard how organisational culture influences images of the organisation held by others.

Identity Mirrors the Images of Others

Through this process, the images of the organisation held by external stakeholders act as a mirror, reflecting the organisational identity (Ibid.). This mirroring process will enlighten organisational members regarding the extent to which external stakeholders share the perceptions of the organisation's identity. Based on this notion, Dutton and Dukerich (1991) suggested that any discrepancies in this relation would motive organisational members to change either their image by seeking to affect external stakeholder or their identity by aligning internal understandings of the collective self with external views.

Hatch and Schultz (2002) elaborate this view by understanding stakeholders' images not as something exclusively separate from identity, but rather that through the external stakeholders' crossing of the organisational boundaries, their images leek into organisational identity from within. Thus, a more dynamic and interlinked process emerges.

Self-examination and scrutinising one's identity based upon the images held by others is a key mechanism in this process. Often, these images act as destabilising forces on identity, demanding organisational members to recurrently revisit and redefine their organisational sense of self.

Reflecting Embeds Identity in Organisational Culture

The images of the organisation held by others affect identity, and so does organisational members' perception of who they are (Ibid.). In fact, Hatch and Schultz (2002) argue that it is the organisational 'I' or sense of themselves which urges organisational members to take corrective actions towards external stakeholder images deviating from their understanding of self-identity. This way, organisational culture plays a pivotal role in the sustaining the sense of themselves. Further, it is in relation to the organisational definitions of self deeply embedded in cultural understandings that organisational images mirrored in identity are interpreted. Through these mechanisms, identity is maintained or changed by the process of reflecting upon underlying cultural values and assumptions in relation to identity.

When the organisational identity is reflected upon, this identity is embedded into organisational culture by activating deeply held values and assumptions of its members, which in turn manifests itself in logos, names, identity statements and the like (Ibid.). Based on this notion, Hatch and Schultz (2002, p. 1000) define reflexivity in organisational dynamics as *"...the process by which organisational members understand and explain themselves as an organisation"*.

Organisational members' processes of reflecting upon their identity are undertaken with reference to their organisational culture, embedding their reflections in tacit cultural understandings. Moreover, this embedding facilitates the imbuement of culture and meaning into identity artefacts such as logos, names, identity statements and the like (Ibid.). Once embedded, these artefacts convey meaning from underlying cultural understandings to the cultural surface. Thereby, the meaning-embedded artefacts become available to identity-forming process. Therefore, explicit claims of what the

organisation is made by organisational members can be understood as carrying with them part of the cultural meaning in which they are embedded.

This way, cultural understandings and reflections on identity are transferred into the process of expressing identity.

Identity Expresses Cultural Understandings

The organisational reflections discussed above can be incorporated into outgoing communications, allowing organisational members to vocalise themselves as an organisation both to others and themselves (Ibid.). These narratives can take on many forms. In fact, any and all references to collective identity are inherent to cultural self-expression (Jenkins, 1996).

When these narratives take the form of symbolic objects, their meaning will be tightly connected to that of the organisational culture (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Such an artefact will continue to carry part of its embedded meaning when moving beyond the culture that manifested it, despite that receivers of it will re-interpret its meaning. It is through the meaning of their artefacts in symbols, values, and assumptions held and shared by cultural members that organisational cultures leverage expressive powers (Ibid.). The power of artefacts to communicate credibly about identity resides in this connection to underlying patterns of organisational meaning.

Building upon this reasoning, corporate discourse making use of its organisational 'I' help form organisational identity through culturally contextualised self-expression. When stakeholders sympathise with these expressions of organisational identity, they connect with the organisational culture carried in these narratives (Ibid.).

In addition to being the collective's expression of organisational culture, organisational identity further acts as a source of identifying symbolic material that can impress others with the purpose of arousing their sympathy, enticing their awareness, attention, and interest and facilitating their involvement and support (Ibid.).

Expressed Identity Leaves Impressions on Others

The impressions that others have of an organisation is affected by organisational expressions of culture, sometimes to an extent that goes beyond the deliberate attempts at conveying a corporate sense of identity. This notion is relevant for understanding how image influences the organisation, as it

reflects the organisation's underlying identity. The image that others have of an organisation is thus formed by both the organisational attempts at impressing others, and the impressions that those others receive from external sources like the media and business analysts. If expressions of culture are embedded in identity claims intended at impressing others, and an organisation's image is influenced by those impressions, it becomes evident how culture indirectly shapes the image of an organisation (Ibid.).

Then, the organisational identity is mirrored in the attuned image, spawning a new cycle of identity formation. Conclusively, Hatch and Schultz's (2002) Organizational Identity Dynamics Model identifies the processes of how the internal and external definitions of organisational self create, maintain, and change organisational identity. Therefore, organisational identity is a dynamic construct; the product of a continuous dance between the organisational 'I' and 'me'. Thus, it follows that organisational identity is not an aggregation of individuals' perceptions, but rather socially constructed from this interchange of the organisational 'I' and 'me'.

While Hatch and Schultz's framework provides a method of understanding the interplay and influence between organisational culture, identity, and image, it does not focus on how to assess or determine each concept within the organisation. Organisational identity and culture are inextricably interrelated, and both individual and collective identity are expressed through cultural values and artefacts (Kornum et al. 2017). Furthermore, organisational culture contextualises the formation of identities, and reflections on identity are embedded in cultural understandings, which allows culture to imbue identity with meaning (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Following this argument, Schein's framework for analysing organisational culture can be implemented for investigating both culture and identity.

Schein and Organisational Culture

According to Schein (2004), organisational culture can be viewed as both a dynamic human process of constructing shared meaning and a static state of the organisation's shared norms, values, and assumptions. He defines culture as *"a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group has learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems"* (Ibid., p. 17) and differentiates between the different levels at which the cultural phenomenon manifests itself to the observer. He argues that

any group, organisation, or community can be analysed in terms of its visible artefacts, its espoused values, and its shared tacit assumptions in order to decipher organisational culture.

<div align="center">

Artefacts

Visible organisational structure and processes (hard to decipher)

Espoused Beliefs and Values

Strategies, goals, philosophies (espoused justifications)

Underlying Assumptions

Unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings (ultimate source of values and actions)

(Ibid., p.26)

</div>

Artefacts are found at the surface level and contains all phenomena that you see or hear in the organisation, including its language, technology, manners of address, and published values and rituals. Artefacts may be easy to observe but difficult to decipher, in the sense that the meaning and importance to the organisation may be obscure to an outsider. It is important not to base your analysis of the organisation's culture solely on artefacts, because one's interpretations risk being clouded by projections of one's own feelings and responses.

Espoused beliefs and values at an organisational level start out as reflecting leaders or founders' directions for what they believe is the right course of action regarding a certain new task, issue, or problem. These ideas or notions reduce uncertainty in critical areas of the organisation's functioning, and if they are continuously successful they will gradually transform into anchored group assumptions that foster articulated sets of beliefs, norms, and rules of behaviour.

Basic underlying assumptions have become so taken for granted within an organisation that members will find behaviour or beliefs not congruent with these assumptions inconceivable. They stem from repeated success in adopting and implementing certain beliefs and values within the group, that how now come to define the behaviour, culture and identity of the group. They act as a mental map for what members pay attention to, how they interpret the meaning of things and how to react

to what is going on. To understand the culture of an organisation, one must decipher the pattern of the basic underlying assumption in order to interpret the artefacts or the significance of the espoused beliefs and values (Ibid.).

Problem Formulation and Research Question

Equipped with this knowledge, we can now articulate our research agenda on improving brand-tribe relatability focusing on understanding the interplay between identity formation and culture within consumer tribes. Using an ethnographic method, we propose to investigate a marketplace community and the extent to which the reviewed community literature can be used to characterise it and its members, while simultaneously exploring emerging patterns. While we expect the chosen case community to exhibit tribal characteristics, we acknowledge the diffuse nature of communities and will therefore examine the degree to which characteristics are shared with other forms of marketplace communities.

In order to understand the community on a deeper level, we will apply Hatch and Schultz's (2002) framework for identifying the dynamics of organisational identity, and use Schein's (2004) analytical tools for deciphering organisational culture. If image is what members believe others think about the organisation and these thoughts are influenced by the expressed organisational identity, then image is an internal expression of identity. Thus, we will place less emphasis on organisational image's influence on identity and focus on culture as the main driver for identity.

Following this analytical scheme, we aim to add to the existing literature on marketplace communities, specifically by addressing collective identity and culture of non-brand related consumer tribes. Furthermore, we hope that understanding the behaviours and rationales of consumer tribes and their members will allow us to provide actionable insights and recommendations on how brands can understand, relate, and create mutual value with tribes.

This leads us to the following research question:

How is collective identity formed, maintained, and changed in a non-brand focused consumer tribe?

Methodology

Ethnographic Methods

An ethnography, also referred to as participant observation, is a method in which researchers join a group of people, observe for example behaviours, actions, and norms, take fieldnotes, and write it up (Bryman & Bell, 2015). "*An ethnographic approach implies intense researcher involvement in the day-to-day running of an organisation, so that the researchers can understand form an insider's point of view*" (Ibid., p. 444). As such, an ethnography entails the ability to obtain rich deep data from the subject's point of view, which is our rationale for applying this research method. It has previously been successfully applied by researchers investigating subcultures of consumption and brand communities, underlining the merit of the method (e.g. Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; McAlexander et al., 2002; Kornum et al., 2017).

To immerse ourselves in the realities of the marketplace community members, we engage in field-work in which we have devoted an extended period of time to the case community Tinkuy. One author has been a member of Tinkuy for 2,5 years, which entails 2 years of membership prior to the commencement of this research. This implies a native member function, through which we are able to interact openly with Tinkuy members, so that information gathering through small talk, informal interviews, and formal interviews is genuine in nature. This genuineness is key to obtaining data that, to the extent possible, is devoid of obscuring feelings, thoughts, and emotions and equal to the member's actual perception of reality (Ibid.). Further, the already established membership allows us ongoing access to the organisation and to key informants, which customarily constitutes a major difficulty in conducting ethnographic research. However, the length of the membership entails the risk of cultural blindness, making it difficult to objectively perceive the social structures of which he has influenced and been influenced by.

The second author has approximately one year of Tinkuy membership, including half a year prior to the commencement of this research. This allows for a fresh, unbiased perspective and interpretation of the marketplace community, thus mitigating the limitations of the first author. For this reason, we place great emphasis on playing the devil's advocate with one another and thoroughly observing and challenging our underlying assumptions. As such, the tenure of the two authors permit different advantages, which we consciously make use of to obtain the highest possible quality of data.

From the onset of our research, we have assumed overt roles as researchers, fully disclosing the fact that we are conducting a study (Ibid.). This allows us, contrary to an assumed covert role, to freely take notes, record interviews, and openly encourage reflecting upon our research topic. Further, we do not have to conceal the fact that we are conducting interviews and gathering data, allowing us to steer the conversation when needed without the fear of being detected. Undertaking an overt role allows us to avoid the anxiety of having our cover blown. According to Bryman and Bell (2015), the stress and worry of detection can be of significant magnitude, especially if the studied organisation is feared to react strongly, which could jeopardise the research project. Moreover, assuming a covert role entails the two central ethical issues of not providing participants with the opportunity for informed consent and deceiving them. Also, numerous researchers argue that it may potentially damage both the participants, but also the practice and reputation of research as being dishonest (Ibid.).

However, the overt role entails the pitfall of participant reactivity, an effect containing four components which may occur consciously or subconsciously (Webb et al., 1966). The first is the guinea pig effect, namely that the awareness of being tested can make participants exhibit behaviours or attitude outside their norm to create good impressions or because they feel prompted to behave in such a way. The second component is role selection, in which a participant adopts a certain role in research. Some individuals seek cues about the aim of the research and adjust their answers and behaviours to reach an aim in line with their preconceptions. The third component is termed measurement as a change agent. It states that the very presence of a researcher may cause changes, for example if people feel observed or know that what they say and do will be recorded and be part of a study. The fourth and final component is called response sets. Some participants may stick to a consistent but inappropriate set of responses, emerging from factors such as simple yeasaying, naysaying, and the social desirability effect of answering what the participant perceives as the socially desirable answer (Ibid.). To mitigate the effect of participant reactivity, Webb and colleagues (1966) called for a greater use of triangulation through unobtrusive measures in social sciences. Due to the scope and focus of this study, our data will not be triangulated with data collected through unobtrusive methods. Rather, the atmosphere and setting of the research and interviews will be as natural as possible, thus mitigating the perception and reactive effects of being observed and studied (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

On the practical level, the empirical data foundation for this study was gathered from December 2017 to May 2018. In this period, we immersed ourselves into the culture of Tinkuy by spending extensive amounts of time in the marketplace community's lounge area reading, writing, and researching. This allowed us to encounter different members, conduct informal interviews, and observe physical artefacts, behaviours, norms, and traditions. Supported by membership experience prior to this research, these interactions permitted us to understand, nuance, challenge, and reinforce interview data. Likewise, time was spent drinking several cups of tea in the lounge, demonstrating openness and willingness to talk. In this state of being that did not involve books nor laptops, we gained valuable insights and made interesting observations, sometimes interacting with members, sometimes just observing at a scholarly distance.

Additionally, we participated in various activities, namely yoga once or twice per week, social gatherings such as cacao ceremonies on Friday or Saturday nights, and ad hoc meditation events. As such, we employed Gans' (1968) three participant observer roles at different times throughout the research process, which coexistence, in his view, is key for fulfilling different purposes. The first role is called total participant, and entails the ethnography as fully immersed in a certain situation, after which the researcher stance must be resumed, and field notes written down (Ibid.). We undertook this role during the above-mentioned activities. The second role is called researcher-participant, which entails the ethnographer's semi-involvement in a certain situation, allowing him or her to fully function as a researcher. We undertook this role during formal and informal interviews, as well as small talking with members in the lounge. The third role is total researcher, which is observation without involvement, where the researcher merely monitors without participating in the flow of events (Ibid.). We undertook this role during observation of physical artefacts, member behaviour, and interaction in the lounge.

Undertaking these roles, we aimed to find an equilibrium between being close and interacting naturally with Tinkuy members at the expense of scholarly thought process and keeping distance to its members and abundant room for scholarly thought processes but being further from their point of view. Switching between Gans' (1968) roles mitigates the risk of becoming too deeply immersed and losing our sense of purpose by going native (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

At all times we felt very welcome in the Tinkuy, also upon disclosing our status as researchers. The members have generally been very open and interested, thus allowing for abundant access to marketplace community resources. As such, the acculturation process happened rapidly, and we quickly felt integrated in the Tinkuy as true community members.

Research Approach

In discussing research approaches, deduction and induction are often portrayed as polarized opposites from which one must be chosen (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017). In the realm of qualitative research in which we operate, researchers common rely on induction as their explanatory model. This approach "…*proceeds form a number of single cases and assumes that a connection that has been observed in all these is also generally valid*" (Ibid., p. 4). The researchers are devoid of theoretical preconceptions and analyse the data with an explorative mindset, thus generating theory. The weakness of this model, Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) argue, is the risky leap from a collection of individual facts to a general truth.

Contrarily, the deductive approach proceeds from theory and deduces that this general rule explains a particular single case. It is assumed that the theory always holds true, hence also in the present case. Thus, researchers test their theoretical preconceptions through data, rendering the approach theory testing. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) argue the weakness of this model to be its lack of explanation on underlying patterns and tendencies.

The abductive approach constitutes an alternative to the above-mentioned models of explanation, in which a "…*single case is interpreted from a hypothetic overarching pattern, which, if it were true, would explain the case in question*" (Ibid, 2017, p. 4). This interpretation works in tandem with and should be strengthened by observations, so that theory and empirical data are mutually supportive in explaining the investigated case. As such, abduction contains elements of both induction and deduction. During the research process, the empirical data is successively developed while the theory is adjusted and refined, focusing on understanding underlying patterns. This inclusion of understanding is abduction's key strength compared to induction and deduction (Ibid.).

In fact, Sköldberg (1991, in Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017) proposes that abduction is the method used in practice in much research based on case studies, despite that authors claim an inductive model of explanation.

The results of abductive reasoning should not be regarded as finite theoretical truths neither in general nor in the case investigated

In this study, we will apply the abductive approach. We will adopt our empirical data as point of departure, but not reject theoretical preconceptions. Rather, they will serve as possible lines of guidance for analysing our empirical data; not as an overarching truth set in stone, but as a source of inspiration for discovering new patterns and bringing understanding. The research process will thus successively reinterpret theory and empirical facts in the light of each other.

Choice of Case Marketplace Community

The case marketplace community of this study was chosen through a purposive sampling approach (Bryman & Bell, 2015). In this non-probability form of sampling, we, as researchers, do not sample on a random basis, but rather in a strategic way based on the subject's relevance for and merit in elucidating the posed research question.

Based on our observations of the marketplace community Tinkuy and our theoretical preconceptions from the investigated literature, this particular community was deemed to hold great relevance for and merit in elucidating our research question. Tinkuy and its members exhibited behaviour and characteristics which, based on a preliminary analysis, seemed to align with the characteristics of consumer tribes, thus providing a platform for conducting our research.

Our already-established knowledge and membership of Tinkuy allowed us to overcome the obstacle of access, which often constitutes a hindrance for ethnographers (Ibid.). Further, it allowed us to save valuable time compared to locating and gaining access to a new marketplace community. Finally, the choice of Tinkuy provided motivation for us through the personal interest we have in the community.

Interview Approach

On the second-level of sampling, interview participants were likewise chosen through a purposive sampling approach (Ibid.). The strategic considerations for choosing participants build upon the theoretical conception and empirical appliance of tribal roles in the literature, including length of membership, centrality of consumption activity to concept of self, and strength of ties to community (Kozinets, 1999; Cova & Cova, 2002; Mitchell & Imrie, 2011). These parameters were combined

with empirical observations of the different roles in Tinkuy, resulting in a first round of four interviews with an experienced member, a neophyte member, a yoga instructor, and the daily leader. The purpose of this approach was to gain different perspectives on Tinkuy with the support of theoretical preconceptions while remaining open to emerging patterns and roles. After having conducted the first round of interviews and analysed the data, we obtained data saturation in understanding the tribe and its characteristic, and decided to conduct a second round of two interviews on Tinkuy's culture and identity to ensure data saturation in this area as well. As such, our sampling approach has been an evolving process in that we have added to the initial sample as the research has progressed, thus following what Teddlie and Yu (2007, in Bryman & Bell, 2015) term a sequential approach.

Our sampling approach borders that of theoretical sampling in that is an iterative process concerned with generating and refining theory but differs in its point of departure in theoretical preconceptions, where theoretical sampling is solely concerned with the theory emerging from the data collection (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

The in-depth interviews were chosen over group interviews due to the subjectivity and sensibility of participants' responses that were sensed during initial informal interviewing. Being a part of Tinkuy held many personal and delicate reasons such as longing for interpersonal interaction or facing hard times in life, which might not have surfaced in a focus group session. Further, we desired highly elaborate answers from our interviewees, which might not surface as elaborately in a setting subject to the group influence factor.

One could argue that the findings could have been confirmed through group interviews or focus groups, but as we felt data saturation was achieved and we were bound by the size and time scopes of this assignment, we did not conduct group interviews (Saunders et al., 2009).

Setting and Conduction of Interviews
During all interview, both authors were present, allowing one to interact attentively with the interviewee while the other could take on a more reflective and observant role, asking clarifying questions or aiding in guiding the conversation (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

The interviews were conducted in the therapy rooms with a closed door to create a safe interview space in which interviewees can express themselves openly without interruptions or noise. Two of

the interviews were conducted in the lounge, as the therapy rooms were occupied and the noise level in the lounge was deemed acceptable. The interviews were conducted in the respondent's mother tongue to ensure non-inhibited expression (Ibid.).

The interviews were unstructured, so as to allow respondents to freely express their point of view, which is coherent with our interest as qualitative researchers (Ibid.). We have allowed respondents to go off on tangents, so we could gain insight into what they deem important. This way, we hope to gain deep, rich, and detailed data.

Following the unstructured nature of our interviews, we have identified key topics for investigation but have only prompted rather than forced these upon interviewees. The interviews have been flexible regarding the order of the topics and the time spend discussing each of them. Practically, we have steered the interviews by first inquiring openly about a broad matter containing our topic of interest. If our topic of interest if is not salient to the interviewee, we ask a slightly narrower question, and finally we ask a direct question on the topic. This way, we seek to minimalise reactiveness in our respondents, providing only a frame in which they are free to express what is on their mind (Ibid.)

In our interviews, we follow Kvale's (1996) ten criteria of a successful interviewer, supported by Bryman and Bell's (2015) additional two criteria.
1) By familiarizing ourselves with relevant literature and conducting informal pilot interviews, we aim to act as *knowledgeable* interviewers. 2) By telling interviewees the purpose of the interview and our study, properly rounding off the interview, and asking whether interviewees have questions, we aim to act as *structuring* interviewers. 3) By asking simple, easily comprehendible, short questions devoid of jargon, we aim to act as *clear* interviewers. 4) By letting interviewees finish, allowing them time to think, and tolerating pauses, we aim to act as *gentle* interviewers. 5) By listening attentively to what is said and the way it is said and dealing empathically with the interviewee, we aim to act as *sensitive* interviewers. 6) By responding to what is important to the interviewee and being flexible, we aim to be *flexible* interviewers. 7) By knowing what we aim to find out, we aim to act as *steering* interviewers. 8) By challenging interviewees when needed, for example in case of inconsistencies in their replies, we aim to act as *critical* interviewers. 9) By relating the what is said to previous statements in the conversation, we aim to act as *remembering* interviewers. 10) By clarifying and extending meanings of interviewees' responses without imposing meaning on them, we

aim to act as *interpreting* interviewers. 11) By not talking too much as it might make the interviewee passive and not talking too little as it might make the interviewee insecure, we aim to act as *balanced* interviewers. 12) By being sensitive to the ethical dimension of conducting interviews and ensuring both the appreciation of our research topic and confidence that all answer will be treated confidentially, we aim to act as *ethically sensitive* interviewers.

Transcription

After having conducted the interviews, we will transcribe them applying the intelligent verbatim transcription style (Buchanan, Boddy, & McCalman, 1986). This method is apt when studying the content of the interview rather than how it was said, which is the purpose of the data collected in this study. Therefore, redundant words and filler expressions such as 'eh' and 'ah' will be excluded from the transcript. The transcript will stay true to the original meaning and include grammatical and syntactical errors. The aim is to produce a transcript free of distracting clutter, which represents and effectively communicates the respondents' expressions. The transcripts of our interviews may be consulted in the appendix.

Observations and Field Notes

Between January and May, we have spent extensive amounts of time in Tinkuy. In fact, the majority of our study has been elaborated and written in the lounge, where we have been sitting most days. Our presence in the tribe has allowed us to fully immerse ourselves, gaining access to tribe resources and earning members' trust as they gradually learned we had no hidden agendas. Our prolonged presence in Tinkuy has facilitated a rich foundation of observation data from which to infer and analyse. We have not confined our observations to short intense periods as some ethnographers might be constrained to, but have been able to observe a plethora of occurrences in the lounge. Further, observing at different times of the day and week mitigates the risk of inferring things about behavior that are time-limited (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, in Bryman & Bell, 2015). As such, we ascribe a high degree of validity to our observations, which we hope, to the extent possible, truly and fully represent the investigated phenomenon.

Due to the frailties of human memory, field notes are an essential tool in accurately remembering and using knowledge from observations (Bryman & Bell, 2015). In our ethnographic work, we have written down notes after noting something interesting, either through observations or interactions with the tribe and its members. In our notes, we have included reflections upon what we have noticed, and sought to be as clear and vivid in our notes as possible. As a supplement to our field

notes, we have photographed objects in Tinkuy intended for our cultural analysis. Our extensive presence in the tribe has granted us the privilege to observe a plethora of what we believe resembles natural tribe behaviour, allowing us to nuance, reject, and confirm thoughts in our notes through an iterative process.

Methods of Analysis: Coding

As a first step to analyse and derive meaning from the gathered data, a process of coding the transcribed data from the conducted interviews was undertaken (Charmaz, 2006). *"Coding means naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data"* (Ibid., p. 43). As such, the aim is to compose an interpretive rendering, which commences with coding and illuminates the studied phenomena.

The coding process was conducted through two phases: initial coding and focused coding (Ibid.). The initial coding process involves naming each theme emerging from the data, mining the data for analytic ideas to subsequently pursue in the second stage of coding. The goal is to remain open to any theoretical direction emerging from the data. It must be noted, however, that Charmaz (2006) applies an inductive approach in her work on grounded theory, whereas we apply an abductive approach. Therefore, we have supported the patterns emerging from our data with theoretical preconceptions from the literature. According to the recommendations put forward by Charmaz (2006, p. 49), we kept our codes simple and precise, constructed short codes, and remained open in the process.

From the initial coding process of the first round of interviews, the following themes of significance emerged: Individuality in Tinkuy; Collectivity in Tinkuy; The Vision for Tinkuy in Society; Hierarchy and Johan's Role; Spirituality; Brands; Co-creation; Green Values; and Experimentation, Rituals, and Traditions. Below is an example of our coding approach, in which green highlight indicates the theme <mark style="background:#00ff00">Co-creation</mark>, turquoise indicates <mark style="background:#00ffff">Spirituality</mark>, purple indicates <mark style="background:#ff00ff">Individuality in Tinkuy,</mark> and red indicates <mark style="background:#ff0000">Experimentation, Rituals, and Traditions</mark>:

FREDERIK: Og hvis du skulle fortælle en der **aldrig** havde været her før, hvordan ville du så beskrive det

JOHAN: Så er det at vi bruger det her udtryk spirituelt fitnesscenter hvor aktiviteterne er yoga og meditation. Det er dans og bevægelse. Der er en åbenhed for hvad er det medlemmerne gerne selv byde ind med. Det kan være en danseaktivitet eller et foredrag eller en kakaoceremoni eller hvad det nu her.

FREDERIK: Nu sagde du at du var daglig leder. Deltager du selv i nogle af disse aktiviteter.

JOHAN: Ja, jeg har en sådan en fast praksis med morgenmeditation kl 7 og som regel morgenyoga kl 8. og onsdag kl 10 er der noget styrketræning jeg deltager i. Så det er sådan min faste ugentlige praksis. Og så er der ellers bolsjerne med kakaoceremoni fredag aften. Gentle touch lørdag aften. Og det er ikke hver weekend at jeg når at være med til det. Men det er i hvert fald en gang om måneden.

In the second round of interviews we followed the same procedure, and the following significant themes emerged: Physical Touch; Curiosity; Being in Touch with Yourself; Society; Interactions in the Lounge; Governing Intentions; Spirituality; Co-creation; Equality; For other Members; and Values.

In the second phase of focused coding, the most significant or frequent initial codes were chosen and used to sort, synthesise, integrate, and organise the gathered empirical data (Ibid.). This process allowed us to make sense of our data, shaping the following analysis. *"Careful attention to coding furthers our attempts to understand acts and accounts, scenes and sentiments, stories and silences from our research participant's view"* (Ibid., p. 46). As such, great attention was paid to coding, attempting to perceive the data and the world from our participants' point of view. Moreover, specific emphasis was put on the use of language and jargon and the hidden assumption herein, both in our own and that of participants (Ibid.).

Focused coding is not a strictly linear process, however. Developing and understanding categories will from time to time shed new light and understanding on previous statements or events (Ibid.). Therefore, the data set was revisited upon completing the first draft of categories to challenge, support, and reaffirm them, mitigating the risk of missing or misinterpreting statements.

Limitations

Being a qualitative study, this paper falls subject to critique concerning a) subjectivity, b) lack of transparency, c) problems of generalisation, and d) difficulty in replication (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

The critique on subjectivity revolves around the research being too impressionistic and subjective; relying too heavily on the researcher's often unsystematic assessments about what is important and significant. Further, the reader of qualitative research often perceives the process of narrowing the

research focus from an open-ended start as rather opaque, containing few clues as to why one area was chosen over another (Ibid.).

The critique on lack of transparency overlaps to some extent with that of subjectivity, in that the reader faces difficulty in assessing why one case, participant, observed object, or data point was assigned higher significance than others (Ibid.). The same holds true for the process of analysis, which likewise is guided by the researcher's criteria.

The critique on difficulty in replication is two-fold, namely that researchers choose to focus upon what they deem relevant, and participants' response are likely to be influenced by the researcher's presence and persona, making the research difficult, if not impossible, to recreate (Ibid.). Therefore, it can be hard to challenge the research and access if it has been conducted satisfactorily, and if vital aspects have been neglected or left out.

Critics raise the concern that the scope of qualitative research is restricted, in that it entails limitations in generalisation to other populations (Ibid.). However, such generalisation is not the aim of qualitative research. Rather than generalising to populations, the aim is to generalise to theory. Therefore, *"...it is the quality of the theoretical inferences that are made out of qualitative data that is crucial to the assessment of generalization"* (Ibid., p 414).

As such, it is crucial to know the capabilities, goals, and limitations of one's chosen research paradigm and appreciate how different methods provide different insights and value.

Data Presentation

In this section, our chosen case tribe is introduced, followed by a presentation of the data from the interviews. The interviews are structured according to the themes discussed, and the order of introduction is governed by our first and second round of interviews.

Case Presentation

Tinkuy refers to itself as a spiritual fitness centre, and is the first of its kind in Copenhagen. They offer a wide range of spiritual activities for members to participate in, often without needing to sign up to specific events. Monday through Thursday starts with a morning meditation at seven o'clock and a one and a half hour yoga class at eight. Hereafter, a wide variety of classes take place during the day, many of which are regular weekly classes. In addition, unique or monthly events take place

in the evenings and weekends, including drum journeys, cacao ceremonies, dances, and tantra courses. Below is a representative sample of a week's activities in Tinkuy.

Mandag (7. May)	Tirsdag (8. May)	Onsdag (9. May)	Torsdag (10. May)
07:00 Morgenmeditation carolina	**07:00** Morgenmeditation carolina	**07:00** Morgenmeditation carolina	**07:00** Morgenmeditation carolina
08:00 HeartWise Yoga Cedric	**08:00** Somatic Resourcing Yoga Pernille	**08:00** Somatic Resourcing Yoga Pernille	**08:00** Morgenyoga v/Louise Hechmann Louise Granhøj
10:00 Forvandlingsyoga Esmeralda Sophie	**10:00** RECONNECTIVE YOGA w/ Marcello Marcello	**10:00** Psykomotorisk Styrketræning for Mænd Johan	**10:00** Kundalini Yoga v Ajeetdev Kaur Kristina Seia
12:00 Glad yoga Kathrine porskjær engovn	**12:15** Qi Gong og Tai Chi v/Lis Værgman Lis	**12:30** Kundalini Yoga for Health and Healing v/Prabhugian Prabhugian	**13:00** FREE SPACE - FRI TID Johan Tino
14:00 Fælles rengøring & spisning hver den første mandag i måneden. Community cleaning and dinner every the first Monday of the month Johan Tino	**16:00** Brug din stemme,- Syng dig selv ! Øivind	**14:15** Qi Gong v/Louise Boye Louise	**15:00** Manuvision træning v/Freja Hermansen Freja
15:30 Fri Dans til blandet musik Uffe	**19:00** Meditative cirkeldanse v/Tove Tove	**19:00** LEDIG TID - FREE SPACE Katrine	**17:15** Yin Yoga / Sophia Winther Lisbeth
19:00 Fælleslæsning Mette			

Fredag (11. May)	Lørdag (12. May)	Søndag (13. May)	
09:00 RECONNECTIVE YOGA w/ Marcello Marcello	**14:00** forberedelse til workshop Runi	**10:00** Silent Sunday Øivind	
11:30 (ingen yin yoga i dag - ledig tid) Johan Tino	**15:00** Stemmeterapi & Vokal lydhealing / Workshop Runi	**16:30** Shamanistisk energiarbejde Rikke	
12:00 LEDIG TID - FREE SPACE Katrine	**20:00** HEART SONGS & KIRTAN w Daniel Tyler & Malina Runi	**20:00** Goodnight Yoga with Raminta Raminta	
16:30 Børneyoga v/Katrine (afløser) Johan Tino			

Figure 12 - Activities in Tinkuy from May 7th to May 13th, Tinkuy, 2018

After its birth three and a half years ago, the number of members has risen steadily and found a plateau around 700 members, which it has been for the last two years. No numbers exist on the distribution of members' age and gender, but according to our observations, it seems that most members are aged between 23 and 55 with a slight majority of women.

Tinkuy is located at Skyttegade 3 on Nørrebro. The name has a foreign ring to it as: *"It originates from Quechua in South America and it means to meet. Tinku means a meeting and when you add the y it becomes the active form"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

Tinkuy covers 240 square metres distributed on a large activity room, a lounge, a kitchen, three bathrooms, and two therapy rooms.

The price for unlimited access to the activities between Monday morning and Friday noon are DKK 108 per month or DKK 216. Members are encouraged to pay the price they feel is fair. Additionally, the members who pay DKK 216 are granted more plums, which is an internal currency used to book therapy rooms. Weekend events usually cost money. They are open to outsider who pay full price while members of Tinkuy get a 50% discount with two free spots reserved for members paying DKK 216.

Tinkuy is run by the co-founders and daily leaders Johan and Tanja. Johan is present in Tinkuy approximately 38 hours per week while Tanja usually is there on Tuesdays only.

In addition to physical interaction, Tinkuy has a Facebook group in which links to internal and external events are posted. Members engage in little interaction on the Facebook group, why we assigned it little emphasis in our analysis. A monthly newsletter is sent to members with information about event in the month to come and a 'therapist of the month'.

Characterising Tinkuy and its Members

Flemming Gydsbæk

Flemming is a 48-year-old member of Tinkuy. He has been a member more or less since the start up of Tinkuy, 3½ years ago. When asked what Tinkuy means to him, he explains how Tinkuy helped him through tough times: *"I am unemployed and not really ready for going back to work anytime soon… I have been emotionally unstable… there was a time when I did not have a place to stay.. I crashed in Tinkuy a few times"*

Flemming visits Tinkuy 3 to 5 times a week for their activities: "*Kundalini yoga, contact improvisation, but there has not been much of that lately. I used to do that regularly. That's the regular stuff; the other things have been more loose"*

Meaning

When asked what Tinkuy means to him, he says: "*It is noncommittal and no one expects anything from you. I can come when I want to and leave when I want to. I can cook. Drink a cup of tea.*

There are almost always people you can talk to." He relays his view of Tinkuy to the needs of society: "*It is probably the answer for something that is missing in society"*

To Flemming it is not only a physical community but: "*It feels like an emotional anchor,"* and he adds: "*Here, you are always welcome. The door is open and if not, you can pick up the extra key."* This openness means a lot to Flemming and he wishes that more yoga places were like Tinkuy: "*It would make sense to somehow fusion or spread the idea so that you could have some sort of collective subscription to all the yoga places in Copenhagen"*

Alternative

Flemming tells us that he was not spiritual when he first started coming in Tinkuy but that he learned to respect and slowly admire what others were doing: "*No one frowns upon alternative beliefs [in Tinkuy]. Even though not everyone is into reading Tarot cards and astrology.*" There is a broad diversity in Tinkuy and they are able to handle discussions in a pleasant way: "*There is generally room for differences of opinion"*

When Flemming thinks of alternative practises he connects to tuning in with the body and mind of either yourself or others, and he hints that quite a large number of members in Tinkuy probably have experimented with various drugs to facilitate this: "*It would be interesting to find out how many who have tried Ayahuasca. It is probably a large percentage"*

Politics, Environment, Vegetarianism

While Flemming himself is not politically active, he feels that several members have political as well as societal agenda in Tinkuy: "*There is a certain affiliation to Alternativet. I believe that Johan has cooperated with them"*

Flemming has observed that members in Tinkuy are very conscious about their surroundings and that coming in Tinkuy will enhance some of these values: "*I will estimate that people are more environmentally conscious [in Tinkuy]. I think that when people start doing yoga, some sort of awakening happens. You get more in tune with your body. Start thinking about the environment"*

He notes that people eats healthier in Tinkuy and that more than half the members probably are either vegetarians or vegan: "*I estimate that that the percentile is higher [in Tinkuy] than in general."* This does not mean that people look down upon meat eaters, but simply that you take into account

that people have different diets. This goes the other way around too: "*When cooking, you take into account that people might be vegetarian, even though you eat meat yourself*"

Hierarchy, Status and Rules

When asked about hierarchy in Tinkuy, Flemming says that he thinks everyone is equal but that: "*Of course it exists in the beginning when no one knows the opportunities, and then you ask the ones who have been here the longest.*" This meant that the older members gained a certain role in relation to the newer members: "*And then they get a status of being someone who knows something. Of being smarter. And we are to a certain degree*"

However, Flemming thinks that these newer members quickly adapts and start sharing and appreciating the way things are in Tinkuy: "*You have a sort of collective way of interacting, and then you quickly start decoding how you behave here. And then you start adapting almost without thinking*"

Values

Flemming thinks that the social life and collectivity are the most important factors in Tinkuy: "*Maybe something concerning openness. Social spaciousness. Daring to be present in the moment. Daring to converse with someone you do not know yet.*" It starts as a place where you meet for yoga, but quickly becomes a second home filled with new friends: "*And then slowly you realise that 'oh, you can also have a cup of coffee and hang out*"

Johan's role

Interestingly, Flemming refers several times to Johan and compares his own image of Tinkuy with how he thinks Johan views the tribe: "*this is congruent with how Johan thinks or how Tinkuy thinks*" This shows that Johan's influence and vision for the place affect how people view and understand Tinkuy. Flemming thinks that Johan is a great daily manager who takes care of social issues and remains friendly to everyone: "*He is almost always here…*" and "*… always has time to have chat with you*"

Several members, including Flemming, joined Tinkuy because they had certain issues and needed people to talk to and be around. Johan has showed great compassion and is always supportive when people need care: "*And when someone is upset he finds time to take care of it.*' Flemming says that

Johan loves to facilitate intellectual discussions about society and new ideas: *'And always he absorbs [knowledge]. Osmosis- like"*

Rituals

When asked about any practical rituals that often takes place in Tinkuy, Flemming mentions: "*The notion of 'Wanna grab a cup of tea?' A sort of invitation into the inner circle… It becomes a linchpin…"* Flemming sees the cup of tea as a symbol of welcoming and intimacy. He adds that certain rituals are tied to the yoga practice: "*After yoga class it is quite common to have 5-10 minutes where you just lie down and relax"*

Cacao Ceremony

The cacao ceremony is very dear to Flemming, who is the main facilitator of these events. He explains the purpose of gathering people in these rituals: "*I think it is an attempt, for me, to create a more socially spacious way of being together. Where people can feel each other and allow themselves to be vulnerable and open their hearts"*

According to Flemming, these ceremonies express some of the problems that he has before he joined Tinkuy: "*If you cannot show your vulnerable side, then it might be difficult to open your heart. If you are hiding one side of yourself, you cannot open up"*

They allow him to live out ideas and notions that he would not normally show to people: "*You try something new in a group. You might not say much but you try to feel inwards… It might appeal to your introvert side. Your creative side"*

Artefacts

Flemming says that several of the objects and furniture have a special role for the social life in Tinkuy: "*Actually, the couch has special significance. I have had many good talks and 'hygge'. You cuddle up under the blankets."* He elaborates: "*It has become a symbol of daring to enter each other's proximity"*

Brands

Flemming does not think that specific brands play an important role in Tinkuy, but that ecology is important: "*It is probably quite random that it is this particular brand, but not that it is organic.*" He notes that people bring their own food items and donate them to Tinkuy: "*I think it is a bit random what people bring from home [to Tinkuy].*" On appearance and clothing, he mentions that he rarely buys new clothes and that it is: "*Mostly second-hand*"

Online

The online presence of Tinkuy does not mean much to Flemming and he views is mainly as an organisational tool where you can get an overview of the activities in Tinkuy: "*You can see the weekly activities on the webpage and plan what you want to join*"

When asked if there are discussions or debates online about issues in Tinkuy, he says: "*Probably. It is not something I take part in. It is good when it becomes part of the real life, as opposed to online and virtual contact*" This resistance to the online is something he believes that other members share, and why people prefer offline and face to face interaction to the online communication.

Johan

"*My name is Johan Tino Frederiksen and I am 43 year old*"

Johan was one of the founding members of Tinkuy and the one who got the initial idea for the tribe: "*Well I have been here from the very beginning. We started in October 2014 in the neighbouring building. So that is 3½ years ago*"

There are two daily managers in Tinkuy oversee the functionality of the tribe: "*We have been two daily managers. Me, who have been here the most, and then Tanja who is here from time to time*"

When asked about what he feels when he thinks of Tinkuy, he answers: "*I think of a soft bubble. It is not a notion I have used before, but.. It is the sort of community that you can lean into. A place where you feel safe. Where you can find your feet.*" He adds that: "*There is an openness to what the members can contribute with*"

Johan explains how they found the name Tinkuy: "*It originates from Quechua in South America and it means to meet. Tinku means a meeting and when you add the y it becomes the active form*"

The Role of Daily Manager

He tells how the manager has a special role to new comers: "*If a new member needs to figure out what kind of place this is, it is often me who plays a certain role and, indirectly, a certain energy is drawn towards me*"

Vision

Johan came up with the idea for Tinkuy and is one of the driving forces for spreading and upholding the vision for the tribe: "*I am very conscious about what we want to do with this place. From the early morning meditation at the beginning of the day. There is a direction and a vision for Tinkuy. And I have it with me during the day*"

Johan explains that people are leading unhappy lives and that Tinkuy represents an alternative: "*It is a vision about an alternative way of being together. Where we interact from the heart and meet each other with trust. Openness and honesty. Where you are in balance and know your boundaries*"

He got the idea on a subway in New York and worked on the idea back in Copenhagen until it manifested on a festival in Sweden: "*Tt was on that festival it all started. The seed was planted*"

Johan believes that Tinkuy can change society and that people just need to be given the change to change their lives for the better: "*I believe that humanity for millennia have dreamt of paradise on earth. It sounds big and it is. We have a yearning after something that might be possible but is not manifested in modern social conventions. I believe it is a living energy. A vision that attracts people and inspires them to wake up and question 'what am I really doing with my full-time job'*" He continues: "*The collective human dream is connected to spirituality; something larger than yourself*"

Becoming a member in Tinkuy

Tinkuy does not take members in like normal organisations: **"***Practically, we are open for new members every new moon*"

Johan explains that it is to follow the natural cycle of the moon and to manage the flows of new people joining and giving them time to adjust to the tribe before another wave of people join: "*We have chosen the new moon to follow the natural rhythm of nature. The moon affects us in different*

ways" and: *"That is when the community gets new energy. And then you have the rest of the month to integrate that energy and sort of capture it"*

When asked if he thinks that is the optimal solution for attracting new members he answers: *"It does cause some confusion and people question if it is even possible to be a member. So there is some room for improvement"*

New Circle Movement

New Circle Movement is a parent organisation to Tinkuy, created to foster and facilitate project and community work: *"You get 100 plums when you become a member. A sort of virtual point system. You can use them for the available resources in the community."* Johan explains that they have created an alternative currency that they are experimenting with: *"It is a unit that divides our resources in a fair way that circumvents first come, first served"*

The idea in the long run is to book certain popular classes and events with this currency, but Johan explains that he like the open classes that exist now as people integrate with the tribe and the environment more when they just show up for a class: *"You are a part of a community and now you want to participate. Then instead of just joining the event and going home, you hang out in the lounge and drink a cup of tea"*

Clothing

Johan explains that there is now particular clothing that ties members to Tinkuy: *"No, not really. And we do not have any plans about it"*

Hierarchy, Norms, Rules and Status

When asked if his role as a daily manager provides him with a certain status he replies: *"It is a trust-based community. A decision that trust is the deciding factor. And diversity. We are all different. And we need to include differences in the community."* He explains that older members do take upon themselves to help new members: *"There is no hierarchy. The members who have been here for a long time have the kindness to help new members."* He says that it fits with the values in Tinkuy: *"It is a certain way of being. A completely relaxed way of being."* He does add: *"We a one rule that you cannot wear shoes inside. That is the only rule there is"*

What Tinkuy means to you

When asked about the meaning of Tinkuy to him, he says: "*For me it is a place where I can breathe. And it represents the society I want to be a part of. It means a lot to me.*" He explains that he spends a lot of time and energy on running the practicalities in Tinkuy: "*Practically, I am here Monday to Thursday, 8-9 hours a day. About 35 hours a week. Then, when I am home there is mails, text messages, Facebook and so on*"

The Interior Design and Everyday Life in Tinkuy

Johan explains that the main lounge is decorated and furnish by items and objects that members have created or donated themselves: *"The room we sit in here. It is mottled. Diverse. Co-created"* and: "*Many of the things are made by the members, and it means something to the people who decorated the room. There is room for diversity*"

He adds that people have certain preferences regarding food, but that there is room for everyone: "*yeah, organic and vegetarian food has some sort of.. I mean, you can sit and eat your steak down here, but there is something about vegetarian food*"

The Daily Rhythm – Shiva and Shakti

Johan attempts to let Tinkuy have a slow rhythm in the morning with Shiva and then pick up the pace in the afternoon with Shakti: *"There is a daily and a weekly rhythm that is essential for incarnating the vision, to root it. So we start in a Shiva way and end in a Shakti way"*

He explains the two concepts and how the days and weekdays versus weekends are inspired by them: "*Shiva is the mediation and yoga; structure, getting up early, discipline. And then at the end of the day it is the Shakti energy; the moving, the feminine, the diverse, pleasure and the sensory. Music. And these two concepts are contingent upon each other*"

Jacob Dernje
Tinkuy

Jacob is a 45-year-old male and a yoga instructor in Tinkuy, and is currently on a break from teaching. He has been affiliated since the foundation of Tinkuy three and a half years ago. "*I was on my way home from India, when someone mentioned something about it [Tinkuy]. Then I just went down*

here and talked about teaching… My focus was on teaching yoga, and when I stumbled upon the place [Tinkuy] I found it interesting and what it could attract compared to what I wanted with yoga" (Dernje, 2018). Jacob enjoys his time spent in Tinkuy: *"I think being down here [Tinkuy] always has been fun and exciting"*

When asked if he sees Tinkuy just as a place where people come and do yoga or as something more than that, Jacob responds: *"Well they do have an idea of calling themselves a spiritual fitness community, and that is very sweet, good, spot on, precise, but also imprecise – and that is probably the meaning of Tinkuy"*

Jacob continues to give his perspective on Tinkuy's position compared to societal norms: *"Well, their own self-perception, you could say, yes, there is always a form of coolness in not following the establishment or norms. You can say it always gives a bit of a boost feeling that you have an idea of the way you are on because you are not walking on the main track, and then the way you are on becomes clearer."* Jacob sees Tinkuy as a place for personal growth: *"… it [Tinkuy] is also a great place where people can sprout and grow, you can say there are some good fundamentals…"*

Despite not being such an active community member, Jacob still feels that there is a community: *"Yes, that is probably what I think they have been good at, creating a good community. An intimacy, which is generally lacking in many big cities in the western world"*

Society

Jacob presents his views on the flaws of our current western society, and what might happen in the future: *"Well yes, in the entire western society right now, most of the things they sell and do are to be understood more as hype than functional, that is not really what penetrates our way of thinking and consciousness. In a few hundred years they will be able to see that this time has been absolute dark middle ages in terms of potential consciousness – but that is kind of hard to see when you are in the middle of it"*

Jacob believes sustainable and organic products should be the norm: *"Everything should in principle be made sustainable or just be called normal, and then we could put skull-warnings on all that poison-crap. But today we have made the opposite, where you have to pay money to be certified organic, but if you just want to contaminate consumers or the neighbourhood then you can just continue as per usual"*

Passion for Yoga and Spirituality

He mentions that he perceived Tinkuy as spiritual place, which resonated with his self-understanding. As did "*...having a place where I could teach yoga and follow my heart*".

Jacob is passionate about yoga *"First and foremost, my approach to yoga is: yoga first"*. He taught yoga *"... two times per week the first few years. I have always wanted a minimum of three, because that is what I think you should attend as an individual and as a person, and then it would have to be five to seven times per week in order for people to be able to make it three times a week to this type of yoga..."*

When it comes to yoga, Jacob believes in simplicity: "*The simpler yoga is, in my opinion, the cooler it is. It is in fact working with one self, so if you have a mat it is luxurious, and if it has to be really nice then also a blanket. From there, I feel a lot of the other extra equipment becomes completely irrelevant"*

Jacob states how a wide variety of options are available in the alternative world, and that not all are equally valuable or genuine: *"An incredible amount of mumbo-jumbo is being sold in the alternative world right now, but that is because humanity is vulnerable and stupid and has very little focus on the alternative compared to the factually controlled western world"*

Jacob notes that he sees Tinkuy as a soft place, where new instructors can try out their material: *"Well, I can see that most of the instructors down here [Tinkuy] are a little green and try out their material before maybe going out another place and billing more hardcore. That is part of making it a soft place"*

Jacob further elaborates on how the atmosphere in the class is better when there is less of a monetary, transactional focus: *"And in that way, you can say that there are no big predetermined demands for quality. And that is a completely irrelevant thing compared to that there usually is a much better energy when there is no focus on "I have paid so and so much for it, so I want so and so much out of it""*.

Despite the green instructors, Jacob thinks Tinkuy's offering is outstanding: *"And then it is fascinating how much they can offer for 108 kroner compared to how terrible the quality is many other places, or informal, or bland. Then you get, in my opinion, a lot for your money"*

Centrality to Self

Lately, Jacob has not been teaching or visiting Tinkuy frequently. *"It is the first time I am here in the new year, or I think I have been here one time with Morten or one of my former yoga students, who now also has become a yoga instructor here".*

Despite resonating with the values of Tinkuy, Jacob does not see himself as an integral part of the community: "*Well I do not have so much of a need to be a part of any similarities, I have just always come here to teach, and then I have participated in some other classes, usually with a research purpose to strengthen my own teaching"*

He further elaborates: *"... I have never really been a member and has not seen it as a membership forum, so I have just seen it as a place where I could practice yoga and be able to give something away. So, I have never really focused on it [Tinkuy] as a place where I have thought that I should be a part of it, I have seen it as an outlet for yoga in my autistic world"* This is reflected in his relation to other yoga teachers: *"My connection [to other yoga teachers] is somewhat limited"*

Brands and Objects

When asked what yoga equipment he has at home, Jacob responds *"My body. No, I have some small chimes I like ... Especially for relaxation or in workshops you can use them to gather the attention.... I feel all naked if I have forgotten my chimes"*

About the clothing of the yogis attending classes, Jacob notes *"Here I must say Tinkuy has been outstanding. I have been surprised, because it is really free, and people come from near and far"*

Not all clothes are created equally for yoga: *"Yoga in everyday life is much more important that attending class a few times per week. Proper pants and footwear that is not tight around the waist and makes sure the feet get the equivalent of a good massage by walking properly – proper walk and breathing is much more important than other yoga stuff [asanas and attending classes]"*

On the clothing of Tinkuy members, Jacob has observed: *"Yes, here [in Tinkuy] you can see that it is almost better to have a hole in your shirt than not to have a hole in your shirt."* Jacob finds that branding and yoga are opposites, and that brands are fuelled by a lack of self-confidence: *"... yoga and brands are self-contradicting... the need for a strong brand is a deficiency in one self. But the*

humanity is one big hole internally, and that is also why marketing and brands have an enormous presence and doing but would be obsolete with a little more consciousness in the population"

Jacob continues his argument with a comparison to two hundred years ago: *"We can see in the 1800's that they ran around with those wigs and looked funny. In 50 years' time we will also laugh at the fact that people worshipped those design gurus to that extent; that their self-esteem was raised by knowing that some designer had put his brand on it. That is as religious as a lot of other stuff"*

In his opinion, branding does not add value in itself: *"… you can say your whole institution [marketing], is kind of an advertisement agency in my opinion, and in itself not really something that produces anything. And what it supports is the idea of itself, a little like TV2 in its time, who made advertisements for advertising on TV2 with documentaries on the effects of the advertisement"*

Neil Carreon
Neil is a 24-year-old male. He is a neophyte member of Tinkuy and has been a part of it for 4-5 months at the time of the interview.

When asked why he joined Tinkuy, he notes: *"Primarily because I was kind of in a crisis in my life. I had a hard time relating to my current friends, and I needed to talk to somebody who had the same mindset as me, same values"*

The decision was more emotional than rational *"My gut feeling just said: 'Tinkuy, that is where you have to go. You must try it out'. It spoke a lot to me, the way it was a free space. It is nice to be here, you can stay for as long as you like, and then there are different classes in which you can participate, and I find that completely fantastic. It is like being home, basically"*

The values in Tinkuy which are coherent with those of Neil are *"… peace, love, authenticity, and that you in a way let go of this mask to show something you not really are, and there is space to be one-self, there is space for everyone. What is really fantastic about this community is that everyone accepts each other"*

Neil visits Tinkuy three to four times per week. When he is here, he takes part in different activities *"...primarily for the sake of training, yoga, I love kundalini yoga. And then once in a while friends come down here and chill out, cook, watch a movie, and then some events in the weekends. It varies*

a bit. Sometimes there are really nice events in the weekends where I experience authenticity and love" Neil adds that peace and love are expressed in the atmosphere and energy in Tinkuy. He defines love as *"… giving something without expecting anything in return"*

The weekend events Neil attends are different in size and shape: *"I have been to cacao ceremony, DanceMandala, where you just dance, and then I have been to some shamanistic energy work, where you focus a lot on the breath, and can use that as a tool."* Neil reports that his experiences and values from Tinkuy make up a *"very substantial"* amount of space in his life, also outside Tinkuy. He regularly meets with friend from Tinkuy privately.

When asked about his perception of the values in Tinkuy, Neil replies: *"I could imagine that people are greener here. They focus a lot on the environment and how society could be better by focusing on organic products, less consumption, more recycling. And then some 'Alternativet' values"*

Hierarchy in Tinkuy

Neil feels that there is no hierarchy in Tinkuy: *"Well there is no defined hierarchy. What I feel when I am here, is that there is no hierarchy, so everyone is equal. Even the daily manager Johan, who, basically, is the top of the hierarchy – but it does not feel that way"*

Brands and Objects

One of the things that define Tinkuy in Neil's opinion is the music: *"When there are events, for example, when there are classes music is played, and here in the lounge there is nice and calm music… Comforting and relaxing music… it is meditation music"*

When asked if any physical objects are part of Neil's perception of Tinkuy, he responds: *"Well, I do not like defining things with objects, but now that you mention it, then the things hanging on the walls do. Dream catchers, candles on the tables. I feel it makes it cosy here"*

In Neil's perceptions, brands do not play a significant role in people's minds *"To be honest I do not think people think a lot about brands here, it is much more experiences. How the practical aspects and the circumstances are, that does not matter so much"*

Regarding the people in the lounge area, Neil states that their clothing: *"… is just everyday clothing, their own clothing. That, which defines them as persons. Again, we accept everyone down here*

[Tinkuy]. There is room for everyone, how you look and what you wear." Neil does not have a yoga mat at home. When he does yoga in Tinkuy, he notes *"... I do not think about which colour, which brand it is, no. I just take the one that is vacant"*

Rituals and Traditions

On the subject of rituals and traditions, the following comes to Neil's mind: *"A smile on the lips, a hug. It is a gift, when you smile to one another. The hugs we give are not superficial hugs, but genuine hugs. From the heart."* Neil notes that there are significantly more hugs given in Tinkuy than compared to outside. It is not only between people who know each other well: *"For me, when I get eye contact with a person and feel like a hug, then I do it"*

Membership in Other Communities

Neil is also a member of another community, which is significant to his life *"... I do Kung Fu on the side, and there is a lot of masculinity in that culture. There is a lot of discipline, there is a lot of do what is said by Shifu, which means master. There is a lot of yang, like masculinity in that culture compared to here [Tinkuy], which is more yin, femininity. Personally, I think it is mega nice for me to balance between the two energies instead of having to much of one or the other"*

The feminine energy in is expressed in several ways: *"It is again about letting go and just being yourself. And sensitivity and patience. Opening up to the feminine energy itself, where my Kung Fu school – there is a lot of pride, mission, purpose"* For Neil, balancing the two energies are an important way to reflect upon his personal life on different platforms *"It is not just the physical, it is also the mental and the spiritual and the emotional"*

Vegetarianism and Veganism

Neil himself is vegan. *"I think a large part of the community is vegetarian or vegan."* Regarding those who do not adhere to these food ideologies, Neil comments: *"Again, everything is accepted. Just because I am vegan I do not have the right to judge you as a person, that is not how it works at all. It is a personal choice, and it is up to one self when you want to do something. Because we have different truths and different values. And you just have to accept that. Accept all people they are"*

Online

Regarding online activities, Neil states: *"Well, we do have a Facebook group in which people write from time to time, where there are different events outside of Tinkuy… Retreats and offers… Both internal and external events."* Neil has never written anything on the Facebook group. He has limited knowledge of the page, but notes: *"I could imagine that there could be some tips and tools for the members, definitely"*

He imagines that there is interactions and discussion online, but he does not take part in these online activities. *"No, I read a lot, so I get my knowledge from what I read online, the books I read and articles. So, I love getting new tools for using in my life within self-development and spirituality"*

Culture and Identity

Johan Tino Frederiksen (second interview)
Physical Touch

When asked about the culture in Tinkuy, the following comes to Johan's mind: *"There is a culture in which you meet each other curiously. There is also a forthcomingness… There is also a tradition or culture regarding touch and hugs, you can sit closely in the couch."* After thinking for a moment, he adds: *"There is a diversity. Spread age groups, interests, sexual orientations, and political orientations. It is a wide diversity"*

In Johan's opinion, openness, forthcomingness, and trust are related to touch: *"They are interrelated. Touch means something [in Tinkuy], because it is our experience, that being touched brings you back in the body. That is, you feel your body again, you feel a vibration or heat in the body, you are conscious about your body. That bodily contact – both with your own body, but also with others – can help you achieve bodily awareness."* Bodily awareness involves not only physical touch, but also: *"Reading each other or figuring out where you are today. Forthcomingness and respect for one another and curiosity for each other"*

Curiosity

For Johan, curiosity means: *"To me, it is being open. That there is a wish of being felt in a given meeting, it can be an interview. I did not plan in advance what to say in this interview, and you did not meticulously plan what to ask. We meet to see what happens in the meeting. So, it requires a*

common curiosity. You can say that if we do not agree on that, if one part has an agenda, then having curiosity becomes difficult. That is why it is an important value"

When asked if curiosity is related to being present in the now, Johan replies: *"Yes, it is an investigative approach we encourage. We tell our teachers that there is room for experiments; that Tinkuy is a place where you can experiment, you can enter the activity room with an intention but without knowing how the class is going to happen. Most are still not completely used to facilitating the class without concrete plans"*

Johan underpins the importance of curiosity *"If we do no have it, I think you recreate the things we know. Then it is like a broken record. The conversation might be fun or comfortable or safe that way, but it goes in circles. What is needed is, really, that we together figure out what we wish to be born between us."* Johan elaborates that 'us' refers to us in society and adds: *"We can say that Tinkuy is a mini reflection of society"*

Being in Touch with Yourself

Johan views the classes in Tinkuy as conducive to being in touch with your body: *"Yoga is a way to feel your body. That also goes for many of the other workshops. There are workshops with touch as a theme, for example 'Conscious Touch'. It is also expressed in, say, a cacao ceremony where you look each other in the eyes or sit closely in a circle and hold hands"*

The state of mind is important to being in contact with yourself: *"If you have a constrained and tense approach, then you cannot feel yourself."* Being in touch with yourself is vital in relating to others: *"It [feeling yourself] is the prerequisite for meeting the other person and feeling where the other person is. It is there, where some of the community is created"*

Society

When asked why repeating old patterns is a problem, Johan states: *"The problem is that we are destroying the planet. Concretely with pollution, plastic in the oceans, we cut down trees too fast compared to how many are planted. I actually think of pollution the most, but also psychological pollution or poor conditions in society on workplaces."* Johan thinks that there is room for improvement in society: *"There is definitely a potential for us to feel better, I would say… I would say there is an imbalance in society today"*

Johan reflects upon the changes he would like to see in society: *"It is a way of being in the world, where you arrive with all of yourself. You co-create things. It actually requires quite a lot to be curious and have this open approach, because there are not these established uniforms to lean in to"*

About Tinkuy's contribution in society, Johan states: *"What Tinkuy does for society is that it increases harmony and diminishes stress. When we are in harmony, when no one demands too much of us, then a natural creativity unfolds. So, we contribute with creativity. We provide the frames in which creativity can unfold."* Contrary to the fact-based outside-in paradigm in society Tinkuy has: *"...an inside-out way of thinking"*

Interaction in the Lounge

Johan regards the community and meetings with others as: *"... an expression of an experiment. And it is perhaps the most important that takes place here in the lounge, where people meet and talk and drink tea and make plans together"*

Johan elaborates: *"It is more important because the daily and weekly program runs routinely. It is meditation, it is yoga, those activities. You know the form of it... But in regard to downloading the creativity which is necessary, that happens more in the meetings. And that creativity is necessary in the shift we are facing as a society."* In the lounge interactions, Johan perceives: *"... that you, to a high degree, learn from each other in the lounge. You talk, you share experiences. Also, just sharing your vulnerability and the intimacy that arises. There is some healing, there is some learning in that"*

Johan distinguished between interaction in the lounge and in the activity room: *"A significant part of the activity room is that you have a room where you can step forward with a new side of yourself. We have examples of somebody who has been in the university environment for many years and then wants to become a yoga instructor. Or you facilitate a workshop in which you share something. Next week Uffe is facilitating a dance event for the first time. You try out yourself.*

Governing Intentions

Tinkuy is orderly and clean despite an absence of rules and codes of conduct. When asked how this is possible, Johan says: *"There is no control, but there is an intention. I believe that the morning meditation where we meditate 40 minutes in silence in a way sets the tone for the day. Those who*

come, those we meet after the morning meditation, are those who attend yoga. Then there is a possible overlap with them. It is intangible, but there is an intention to contain this diversity, and it is not articulated"

About the notes on the walls in the kitchen and toilet stating that cleaning is a joint responsibility, Johan notes: *"They are not rules, they are guidelines or hints to how we are here, you could say… It is a delicate balance, because we do not want people to think 'oh, that is how to behave to fit in here'… Some people are highly lethargic by nature, and they must be allowed to be highly lethargic"*

When asked where these intentions come from, Johan responds: *"Well, it is me and Tanja as daily leaders who have decided what goes on the walls to some extent. So, we have an influence there – or have had. To and increasing degree it comes more self-reliant"*

Johan states that only a handful of times have members been out of line or talked inappropriately to each other. *"Then we have talked to the person who has been sad. Otherwise we have not entered those situations. There is a high degree of trust that we are capable as a community. There is no mum or dad to solve the problems. And if something happens, well okay, what can we learn from that?"*

Spirituality

Spirituality can take a wide variety of definitions. To Johan: *"Spirituality is being yourself, being your true self. That is spirituality to me. It is at least a prerequisite for opening yourself to it. It is actually a good question what spirituality is. I have no clear answer to that"*

When asked what spirituality can do for a person, Johan states: *"It is something about being open to that there is something bigger than yourself. If that roots in you, you start to act from another place. Then it is less about me, me, me and more about opening yourself, serving something bigger"*

Johan adds to his statement: *"You are not excluded [if you are not spiritual], but some I say yes to talk to, and some I say no to talk to. I cannot say yes to talk to those who drain me. That is how it is for everybody"* He adds that he hopes getting no's when inquiring about conversations will spur reflection in members about their behaviour.

Co-creation

To the question of how co-creation is expressed in Tinkuy, Johan responds: *"Concretely, it can be expressed by someone doing a workshop together. It could be someone playing music for, say, a cacao ceremony... Co-creation is on all levels, it is also simply in meeting, where you talk and create something via conversation. It can also be ideas and new inspiration.*

Many items in Tinkuy have been donated by its members. Johan believes that is highly coherent with Tinkuy's values and vision: *"What is on the walls is something members have brought, and some might have been drawing at the table one night, and then it is that drawing we put on the wall. It is not an expensive 3,000 kroner painting. This signals that what members contribute with actually is appreciated. That is what we deem interesting, not which experts we can attract from outside or fancy art"*

Desirée Nielsen
Desiree is 52 years old woman who works with healing music. She has been a part of Tinkuy from the beginning

Physical Touch

Desirée started by commenting on the physical intimacy that you experience in Tinkuy *"We decided to be heart-based. And that is based on the whole human being. As opposite to the surrounding. We value the human resources no matter how they look from an external point"*

She explained how being close to someone physically lets you see all they are: *"We view it holistically and humans as a whole beings with the sets of resources that entails. And that means that everyone is equal. That includes in society, which means that you support each other instead of competing... You get to care for people when you really see their resources and experience who the really are when they get to be themselves. And that is just calling for a hug, right?"*

She adds that being physical is just a way of opening your hearts to each other: *"But really, it is just love springing from the heart. It is not fake."* Coming in Tinkuy and having this close proximity to other have helped her come to terms with her body: *"I have stopped being afraid in my body for physical contact. I have not been raised with a lot of physical contact. But it is like it has come out of me now"*

Equality

Desirée explains how Tinkuy expressed certain values in society she had not found before: "*Many of us have been looking something worth living for in the society that is presented to us. And we have found not only a sanctuary but a place where we can realise what we really want*"

She compares it to Indian tribes and taking decisions in a circle: "*It is like you did in the old native counsels. You do not vote for anything. You do not hold anyone back. You just sit in your own little bubble.*" Tinkuy lets Desiree be something she did not know she could: "*It is like an extension of who I am but maybe did not dare to be before*"

Co-creation

She thinks that the co-created feeling in Tinkuy makes it more of a home: "*There is a joy to contributing. It has created a sense of responsibility. It is our place. It is our home. Sometimes it may look a bit messy… But it is like a home. It is our things. There are memories and things that makes sense to us.*" The only problem is getting transportation, since no one has a car: "*We are all sort of 'eco types' on bikes*"

Collective Responsibility

Desirée notes how helping each other is essential: "*In Tinkuy, we are like a family; we have donated all the things ourselves and we do all the work. We help each other. And we would like to welcome you inside our family.*" She adds that outsiders can have problems fitting in with these values: "*They are used to just coming and leaving things around. It is not to be mean but that is just the way they are trained in society*"

For Other Members

Members value authenticity and daring to be their true selves: "*We teach new members that you do not need to put on a façade. I have been a paralegal so I know a thing or two about facades… But it is like the face behind the mask is in play down here and the façade breaks. You are met with warmth, openness and love. Or you get to be left alone, if that is what you want*"

Spirituality

To Desirée, spirituality is very important *"It plays a really really big role. But there are all kinds down here [spirituality]."* She cares about spreading spirituality to others, but not in the traditional teacher role. It has to be a collective learning process: *"Someone has walked on the path before you and me. And we have to do the same thing for others. Without preaching, that is. To me that is the ultimate dismantling of the traditional teacher or guru role. The way we practise so many versions of yoga"*

To her, spirituality is tuning in to the relationship between body and heart - and stop using our heads as much: *"We are heart- and body-based… It means that if your arm is hurting we say 'ask your arm or talk to your arm.' Ask your body what you want to do today. Where do you want to be right now. We practise asking down here [the heart] and the entire body instead of here [the head].* She explains further: *"You ask body what you want to do. To me that is deeply spiritual. To be heart-based"*

Tinkuy is a great playground for experimenting with spirituality. No one judges you and everyone can feel safe: *"Here, the things are in balance and do not judge. Not to other ideas or to others. Yeah, that is the culture down here. A set of ideas carried by diversity… I think that is what all the great religions have in common when you boil it down."* The activities have a great deal of spirituality in them: *"[Spirituality] is embedded in some of the courses. Some of the yoga teachers use mantra song. It is built in to yoga, too. And the rituals"*

Values

Desirée clarifies the most important of Tinkuy's values to her: *"It is heart-based, that is simply number one. And co-creation. I build that into my workshops. And the holistically collective meeting between people"*

She believes that the heart warmth of Tinkuy has to come from the inside of each member. It may be hard to define but you have to believe it: *"You can call it humanity or compassion. But not the fluffy kind. You have to feel it inside. You are allowed to say no. You have to agree with what you say yes to"*

Analysis

During our analysis, we have coded and sorted the data into themes that emerged during the interviews. Furthermore, we differentiate between individual and collective notions of what Tinkuy is. The individual analysis focuses on why each member joined Tinkuy and how they relate to the tribal identity process. The collective analysis focuses instead on what Tinkuy provides and symbolises on a collective level and will uncover wider narratives of the feeling of Tinkuy and its values.

Individuality in Tinkuy

Johan is one of the founders of Tinkuy. He got the original idea for a spiritual community riding home on the New York Subway. At the time, he was a software engineer, but decided to quit his job to pursue his dream. He moved to Copenhagen and found like-minded people that shared his passion. Together, they groomed the idea, and during a spiritual festival in Sweden, the concept of Tinkuy was created.

Today, that concept is successfully manifested, and Johan functions as one of two daily leaders that guide the routines and practicalities of the community. Tinkuy is an essential element in Johan's life and represents many of his most important values: *"For me it is a place where I can breathe. And it represents the society I want to be a part of. It means a lot to me"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

Johan likes to talk about his vision for Tinkuy, and it becomes clear that achieving a higher purpose through Tinkuy is very important to him. While practising spirituality, yoga, and meditation are cornerstones of Tinkuy, Johan is also driven by manifesting his dream and sharing this platform with society. He firmly believes that vision and purpose should permeate every aspect of Tinkuy: *"I am very conscious about what we want to do with this place. From the early morning meditation at the beginning of the day. There is a direction and a vision for Tinkuy. And I have it with me during the day"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

Johan identifies strongly with the tribe, and the tribe's activities: yoga, meditation, dance, and communal socialising among others, are central to his self-concept and identity. Not only is the community consumption and its values central to Johan, but he influenced the process in which they arose and continuously seeks to uphold and spread this centrality to others (Kozinets, 1999). Even though Johan is emotionally invested in the lives of other members and can act like a social anchor for the tribe, he maintains a polite distance, and the intensity of his social relationships does not reach the

same depth as exhibited by other members. Because of Johan's role as a leader, he has a relation to almost every member but must put his duties first, which limits the intensity of his social relations.

Drawing upon Østergaard and Jantzen's (2001) perspectives on consumer behaviour, Johan is clearly not driven by narcissistic thoughts, shopping from tribe to tribe in search for new experiences. He constructs meaning, not as an individual, but as part of a collective tribe that builds a universe around which yoga, meditations and spirituality are consumed.

Contemporary group research has a tendency to treat individuality and group identity as mutually exclusive, but individuality can influence the formation of social or collective identity (Postmes, Spears, Lee, & Novak, 2005). Individual distinctiveness can form the basis for group solidarity through organic solidarity, which arises out of differentiation between individual and group, and the skills, behaviours, and roles that the individual import to the community. On the other hand, mechanical solidarity arises out of recognition of affinity for common values and norms, which causes the individual to adopt the community mind-set and let it take precedence over individual personality. These concepts form two continua along which group identity can be understood, either as grounded in individuality or in superordinate identity.

Being a founding member of Tinkuy who contributed to forming the original vision and values, Johan influences parts of the tribe's identity through an inductive, bottom-up process (Ibid.). When Johan and the others started Tinkuy, there was not yet a group identity, and values, behaviours, and norms were inferred from expressions of individuality, slowly converging towards each other. This means, that was originally Johan's vision for Tinkuy, now has become accepted within the tribe as common values and beliefs.

Among its members, numerous reasons for being a part of Tinkuy exist. For Neil and Flemming, one of these reasons was consolidating emotional pain emanating from life crises. Flemming faced emotional instability and lacked a place to stay, whereas Neil found it difficult to relate to his friends due to personal development and change. In the warmth and welcoming atmosphere of Tinkuy both found what they were seeking. The social openness of people and liberal rules has made Tinkuy a free space for the two: *"It is like being home, basically"* (Carreon, 2018). Flemming has even had a few nights of desperation, where he ended up crashing in Tinkuy.

The social bonding happens both in the lounge and in activities like yoga, dancing, and weekend events. Often, it seems to be the case that members attend a class and converse about it before or afterwards in the lounge, sometimes over a cup of tea. Neil and Flemming seem to have a different balance in their use of these two platforms. Where Neil often leaves within half an hour of attending a class during the weekdays, Flemming spends more time hanging out in the lounge, both socialising and in solitude. It is evident that the consumption activity is central to both members' psychological self-concepts (Kozinets, 1999). Compared to each other, however, Neil exhibits a greater passion for yoga, and especially: *"Kundalini yoga. I love kundalini yoga"* (Carreon, 2018). Relative to Flemming, Neil shows more traits of Østergaard and Jantzen's (2001) tourist, who seeks experiences and is driven by his heart's desires, whereas Flemming seems to emphasise metaphysical and symbolic consumption, drawing more value from the social interactions and simply being with the tribe.

Naturally following from his presence in the tribe, Flemming seems to have a greater intensity in his social relationships in Tinkuy. There is also great quantity and quality in Neil's social tribe relations, but his main driver for visiting Tinkuy seems to be activities, whereas Flemming seems to value socialising more. As such, despite both being social, Neil exhibits elements of transactional behaviour, whereas Flemming exhibits more elements of relational behaviour.

As discussed above, Postmes and colleagues (2005) put forward two continua along, which group identity can be understood. The one grounded in superordinate identity is termed deductive social identity, and is a top-down process through which superordinate group properties, values, and norms are applied to the self. Neil and Flemming both seem to exhibit elements of this process, as their search for easing emotional pain allowed Tinkuy's identity to provide the boundaries within which they could define their personal identities further (Ibid.). When they joined the tribe, they met an established identity compatible with their own that they were ready to accept. Resulting from this process, their expression of individuality usually are in reference to spirituality and other values normatively relevant to Tinkuy.

Neil likewise frequents a Kung Fu community, which embodies more masculine values of discipline, hard workout, and focus. This way, Neil can co-exist in several communities with different group identities without compromising his concept of self. As the values of both communities are congruent with different parts of his identity, they become platforms for balancing his concept of self: *"There is a lot of yang, like masculinity in that culture compared to here [Tinkuy], which is*

more yin, femininity. Personally, I think it is super nice for me to balance between the two energies instead of having to much of one or the other" (Carreon, 2018).

The yoga teacher Jacob exhibits slightly different behaviour in that he does not emphasise the social aspects of Tinkuy: "*Well I do not have so much of a need to be a part of any similarities, I have just always come here to teach, and then I have participated in some other classes, usually with a research purpose to strengthen my own teaching*" (Dernje, 2018). His connection to other yoga teachers is likewise limited. Contrasting Johan, Neil, and Flemming, Jacob has a low intensity of social ties to most other members of Tinkuy (Kozinets, 1999). However, he seems to hold a handful of strong social relationships to other yoga aficionados, among others Morten, one of his former yoga students, who now also teaches yoga. As such, Jacob's social ties are polarised to a higher degree than observed in other members.

Further, it seems that Jacob's passion for yoga is the epicentre of all his being and behaviour, including social relations. Rather than a membership forum, he sees Tinkuy as: "*...an outlet for yoga...*" (Dernje, 2018). He perceives the values of Tinkuy and the understanding of what a yoga class should entail as akin to his own, why he has a very high self-centrality of consumption activity. In some yoga classes, for example in most fitness centres, there is less focus on the breath and spirituality compared to what Jacob and other Tinkuy instructors teach. However, when it comes to other consumptions activities in Tinkuy than yoga, Jacob shows little to no engagement. He solely takes part in yoga classes, either as an instructor or student. As such, Jacob shows conflicting behaviour with certain aspects of his tribal engagement with Tinkuy exhibiting high centrality to self and intense social relations, while other aspects exhibit the opposite. This can explain why Jacob comes across as somewhat reserved and less engaged in the community, whereas Johan or Flemming identify more fully with Tinkuy.

While Kozinets' concepts of self-centrality to consumption and intensity of social ties to community (1999) are developed for virtual communities, we have found them to be fitting and appropriate for analysing and understanding the tribal mechanisms in Tinkuy. The tribe is a very social community, where people are close, both physically and emotionally, why intensity of social relations can. However, it is our contention that the tribal activities (yoga, meditation, dance and ceremonies) and the social relations are separated by the physical boundaries of Tinkuy and at the same time intertwined by the emotional connectivity of the community. The yoga and meditation classes start out

somewhat individually, finding your own rhythm and then opening up, both physically and emotionally. As the class progresses, people tune in to each other, and the classes take on a more collective nature. This progression from individual focus to group focus manifests when the class is over, and people convene in the lounge to process their experiences and feelings from the class. This way, the consumption activities and the social relations start out as separated entities but merge into collective processes in the open and understanding environment. It is not only the members who undertake the consumption activities that engage in processing the experience after a class. Usually, there are people socialising in the lounge during the day, and these members also take part in the conversations, narrations, and hugs that follow a class.

We have observed that when certain new members join Tinkuy, they have a relatively transactional approach to the consumption activities. Initially, they partake mostly in the different events and classes and seem hesitant to fully socialise. We have gone through the same progression, taking yoga and meditations classes and then gradually expanding our presence into the more casual and social realm of Tinkuy. It took us several months of understanding and decoding norms and accepted behaviours and getting to know the other members and their roles in the tribe. As our level of cultural integration rose, we were able to contribute both socially and intellectually through discussions of our thesis and its ramifications for conceptualising Tinkuy as a tribe. Eventually, most members adopt a more relational connection to Tinkuy, embracing both the consumption activities, different levels of spirituality and the idea of Tinkuy as a family. However, at any given time there will be many different types of members at different levels of integration, centrality to self and sociality, and the tribal identity of Tinkuy can never be understood as homogeneous or static, but constantly in flux.

Conclusively, the importance of social relationship seems to transcend that of the consumption activities in Tinkuy. In fact, one could argue that the exchange of services between provider and consumer in its traditional sense does not take place in Tinkuy. Instead, the yoga, meditation, and additional activities facilitate a collective and social interaction between members, diminishing their role as conventional consumers. This interestingly separates Tinkuy from other tribes where consumption is the main driver for identity formation, making Tinkuy a social tribe rather than a consumer tribe.

Collectivity in Tinkuy

On a collective level, Tinkuy is permeated by a notion of openness. This openness is expressed through social interactions in which members meet one another with a curious mindset and genuine interest in other people. When people enter the door, they are always greeted by the people in lounge, either by a 'hi' and a smile, or by a hug. This creates a warm and welcoming space, which facilitates the initiation of conversations between friends and strangers alike. These conversations are not bound by formal patterns such as introducing oneself with name, occupation, and so forth. Rather, conversations flow freely and intimate personal subjects are discussed with surprising openness, acceptance, and calmness. Flemming notes how he feels safe sharing his emotional state and pain without the fear of being judged.

Members freely contribute in ongoing conversations of other members when they find them interesting or feel like socialising. There is a certain social spaciousness and acceptance of one another, both when there is a desire to interact socially or be in solitude in the corner: *"It is noncommittal, and no one expects anything from you. I can come when I want to and leave when I want to. I can cook. Drink a cup of tea. There are almost always people you can talk to"* (Gydsbæk, 2018).

The notion of openness is also manifested in what members can contribute with. Johan states how many of the weekly activities and events are proposed and executed by members, who have a certain passion or skill they would like to share. Then, a free space is found in the calendar, and the event can take place. For example, one member named Uffe, who has a passion for dancing, is to host a dance event despite having no formal experience as a dance facilitator or instructor. Also, physical openness is an essential characteristic of Tinkuy: *"Here, you are always welcome. The door is open and if not, you can pick up the extra key"* (Gydsbæk, 2018). In a neighbouring hostel, members can at any point pick up the extra key for Tinkuy. All that is required is that you sign your name in a book and return the key afterwards.

The open door policy is likewise a manifestation of another key notion permeating Tinkuy, namely that of trust. Members place a high level of trust in each other, both in the personal conversations and regarding physical possessions. When attending classes, members often leave their bags, phones, computers, and other valuables in the wardrobe in the lounge, which they have no ability to monitor. Interestingly, they do so without worries of them getting stolen, but are able to be fully present in the classes. Johan notes that in the three and half years Tinkuy has existed, nothing has

ever been stolen. Also, he notes that the emphasis on trust is highly intentional: *"It is a trust-based community. A decision that trust is the deciding factor"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

Another manifestation of the trust in Tinkuy is the collection of drums in the lounge. It belongs to the rhythmic workshop-holder Belinda, and includes 10 full-size African drums, three smaller drums, and some tambourines, and rattles. Members are allowed to use the instruments at any point, despite that they have a value of several thousand kroner. There is a great respect around them; members play them with care and respect despite the absence of instructional notes describing or best-behaviour. In addition to showing trust, the presence of the drums also demonstrate an openness for Belinda to store them here.

Finally, Tinkuy is a diverse community, spanning a wide variety of member personalities and types. Here, you can encounter different nationalities, political orientation, sexual orientation, ages, interests, and opinions. Like trust, diversity has consciously been encouraged in Tinkuy: *"We are all different. And we need to include differences in the community"* (Frederiksen, 2018). Aided by lack of judgment between members, diversity spurs conversations between people curiously inquiring about each others' differences and similarities in opinions, viewpoints, and way of life. This way, diversity, openness, and trust are interrelated mechanisms in the creation of the unique social spaciousness in Tinkuy.

The Theoretical Tribe

Scrutinising virtual tribal communication, Kozinets (1999) distinguishes between an instrumental versus autotelic objective of communication and an individualistic versus social orientation of communication. This framework seems applicable to Tinkuy, as all of these communication types exist at different times through different interactions in the community. We have observed that the communication between members often is autotelic in nature, being in itself the end goal and purpose of interaction. Instrumental inquiries about practical information often occur in a social context or are followed by socialising. When members for example ask about when a class starts, the answer is likely to be followed by a conversation about that particular class, the members' engagement in it, or a third unrelated topic.

Due to the need for information in getting acquainted with Tinkuy, new members are naturally prone to have a more instrumental objective of communication. As they get integrated into the community, we see a move towards a more autotelic and socially oriented communication, shifting their

interest from short-term personal gains to cooperation with other community members or long-term social gains.

Kozinets (1999) further distinguishes between four virtual community types with a loose or tight social structure and a group focus on either information exchange or social interaction. While the types of communities suggested by Kozinets are outdated and unfit for physical communities, these two dimensions can aid in understanding the community and its mechanisms. As discussed, the group focus of Tinkuy is largely on social interaction, and informative inquiries often happen in a social context. The collective and social notions are located at the very core of Tinkuy's being. While the concept of group focus is fairly self-explanatory, the concept of social structure is somehow vague and unsatisfactorily defined in Kozintes' article (1999). We adopt and apply Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner's (2000, p. 391) understanding of social structure as *"... the enduring, orderly and patterned relationships between elements of a society"*. The term society can refer to a macro, meso, or micro level, why it is fit for communities like Tinkuy. In other words, social structure covers the internal institutionalised relationships constructed by the members of Tinkuy, including the level of organisational status hierarchy and the rules and principles governing behaviour.

Following this definition, the social structure is considerably loose. Tinkuy comprises a noncommittal community in which members can come and go as they please (Gydsbæk, 2018). There are no formal rules, except that you have to take off your shoes upon entering Tinkuy (Frederiksen, 2018). The hierarchical structure of Tinkuy is extraordinarily flat, and will be discussed in detail below. Between members, there is a high level of freedom and diversity in how they choose to interact or not interact. There are few expectations of how or when one should behave in a certain way, and the individuals' needs are attributed higher priority than collective norms, rules, and expectations. Despite the considerable differences between virtual communities and consumer tribes, both are the product of human behaviour and interaction. As we became more immersed into the tribe, we saw that both group focus and social structure are essential concepts for understanding not only online communities but also offline tribes.

The tribal clover is a model constructed by Cova and Cova (2002) to identify and understand tribal characteristics. The authors use it to gain insights into an in-line roller skate tribe spanning across France encompassing several thousand members, underlining the tool's purpose in understanding ephemeral and somewhat intangible tribes with vague external boundaries. Tinkuy is geographically confined and therefore not spread out in the same way. This makes the tangible aspects of Tinkuy,

understood on the axis of visibility, less complex and easier to analyse. Especially the model's analysis of institutions seems somewhat moot. However, the intangible signs and traces, understood on the axis of invisibility, still seem highly relevant for capturing both the imaginary and everyday life of Tinkuy.
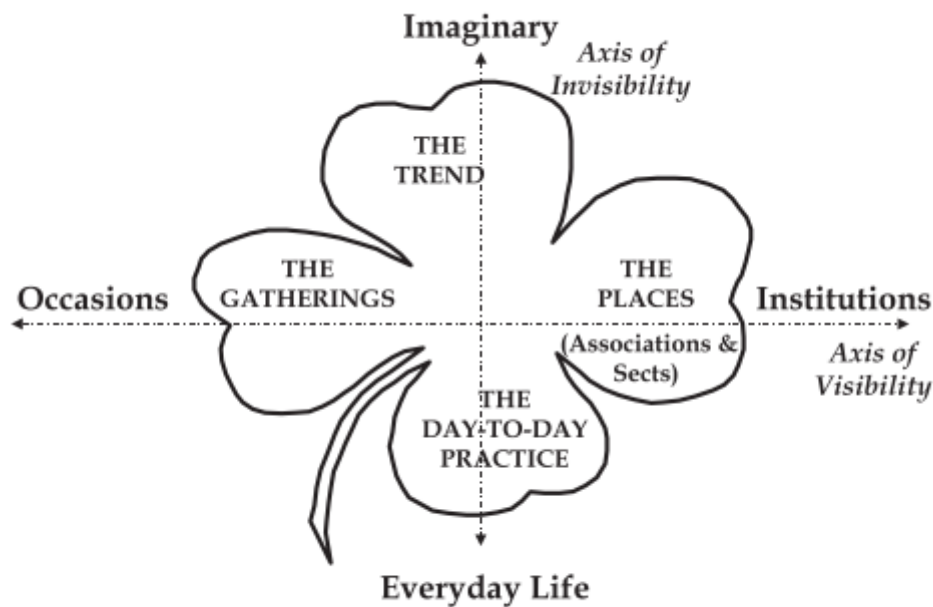
There is only one main institution in Tinkuy, namely the location on Skyttegade 3 where the tribe convenes in the lounge, kitchen, and activity room. Additionally, some online activity takes place in the Facebook group, where information on activities and workshops is posted, and members interact to a limited extent. The institution frames the physical boundaries of Tinkuy, easily recognizable through Tinkuy's banner and posters in the main entrance. The occasions in Tinkuy are a collection of different events and activities, all concerned with self-realisation, mindfulness and bodily awareness. Most of these events take place behind closed doors, and the visible signs are not easily found. The most effective way of understanding the schedule of events is through Tinkuy's online calendar and webpage. Alternatively, signs appear shortly before or after the events take place, where the participants gather outside the activity room, either in anticipation and preparation of the event or to reflect upon and process it.

The occasions facilitate the personal and shared experiences happening in the everyday life in Tinkuy and as such constitute a tie between the tangible and intangible aspects of Tinkuy. These experiences form the intangible social frame of Tinkuy within which value creating activities that sustain the community unfold. The day-to-day social life in Tinkuy is an essential part of what drives Tinkuy but leaves almost no visible traces to outsiders. To grasp this sense of community, you have to be present and interact with the tribe. The imaginary elements are comprised of the trends and vogues in society that mirror the values by which Tinkuy are driven. This is also where the members' vision and dream of what Tinkuy wants to achieve exist. The spirituality, community, and sociality taking place in the everyday life are reflections and mundane manifestations of these visions and dreams, and we see how the imaginary and the day-to-day practise are connected the same way the occasions and institutions are. This framework allows us to conceptualise the tangible and intangible aspects of Tinkuy, showing how Tinkuy stands out as having more tangible and stable boundaries compared to the ephemeral skate tribes, while having a fleeting and intangible bundle of core activities and social life.

Through these concepts, Cova and Cova (2002) derive four stereotypical membership types. However, we do not want to focus on the specific membership types, but the interaction between the intangible and tangible aspects of Tinkuy. On the intangible axis, we can understand members on a continuum between the everyday and imaginary. The everyday life represents members whose main focus is to socialise in Tinkuy, hang out in the lounge, and mingle. On the extreme of the pole, members place little emphasis on the values, visions, and dreams of Tinkuy. Contrarily, members on the opposite pole, the imaginary, sympathize with the vision and dream of Tinkuy and place little emphasis on the day-to-day practise.

On the tangible axis, distinguishing between members focusing on institutions and occasions provides little value, because the occasions take place in the institution.

However, looking at members whose main focus is to attend occasions such as classes and events reveal how some members hold a transactional relationship to the tribe. They care little about the overarching visions and do not engage much in the social life. Rather, they perceive their attendance in classes as a transaction in which they receive a service from the tribe in return for their monthly membership fee. While this is the theoretical pole, most members will exist between spheres where they participate in activities in search of mindfulness, share the vision of Tinkuy, and engage in the social life.

When thinking about Tinkuy in terms of tangibility and intangibility, we believe that the traces and signs located on the intangible axis lie closest to the true identity of the tribe. It is the vision for Tinkuy's function in society and the intimate and welcoming social life in the tribe that drive the search for awareness and mindfulness and keep members coming back.

The Vision for Tinkuy in Society

In Tinkuy it is clear that the members feel a purpose and have a vision for the tribe. On a practical level, Johan explains how there is a daily rhythm that flows from the masculine energy to the feminine energy. He says that it is essential for rooting the vision for Tinkuy in the members by starting the day in a Shiva way and ending it in a Shakti way: "*Shiva is the mediation and yoga; structure, getting up early, discipline. And then at the end of the day it is the Shakti energy; the moving, the feminine, the diverse, pleasure and the sensory. Music. And these two concepts are contingent upon each other*" (Frederiksen, 2018).

To Flemming, Tinkuy represents the answer for something that he feels is missing in society. He observes that people are stressful and experience a sort of collective aimlessness. Tinkuy provides direction and a place to meet people, which he believes can improve the mental health. Jacob echoes these thoughts, saying that Tinkuy facilitates an intimacy that is missing in big cities in the Western world. He adds, that what drives the Western society is less functionality and more hype, an era that he believes humankind will remember as the dark ages of potential enlightenment.

Johan is less gloomy, and focuses on the things and ideas that Tinkuy seek to influence. He also feels that something is not quite right in modern society and conceptualises what people, and Tinkuy in particular, should strive towards: "*I believe that humanity for millennia have dreamt of paradise on earth. It sounds big and it is. We have a yearning after something that might be possible but is not manifested in modern social conventions. I believe it is a living energy. A vision that attracts people and inspires them to wake up and question 'what am I really doing with my full-time job*" (Ibid.).

He continues, and adds that he used to feel lost, a condition he also observes in society which is part of the reason why he believes people are searching for a place like Tinkuy. He believes that people are not true to themselves, and that they need to find themselves in order to free a creativity which is subdued by the plans and ambitions that govern people's lives. It seems like he connects this feeling of wrongness, both in society and the environment, with an inability to connect with the self. He

uses meditation and yoga as a medium for connecting with himself and finding balance. From there, he feels he can embrace new people and ideas and take an important step towards solving these problems, free from stress, duty and guilt. This process is what he intends to share with the world through Tinkuy, which he hopes can inspire other people to adopt similar reflections and find themselves.

In their studies of consumer tribes, Cova and Cova (2002) observe certain similar traits between postmodern tribes and archaic tribes. Like the archaic tribes, Tinkuy acts in certain areas as a collective counterpower to institutional power. While Tinkuy may not directly oppose the institutionalised society and behaviours, there is a resistance towards what this society may become if these problems are not addressed. This resistance is what powers Tinkuy's vision for a better society and what creates a desire among the members to change and seek mindfulness and self-realisation.

Hierarchy and Johan's Role

We quickly identified that Johan had a special role in Tinkuy as both founder and daily leader. He is not a manager in the traditional sense as he does make any decision on behalf of Tinkuy on his own, he is more a sort of guide or facilitator that makes sure everything runs smoothly (Gydsbæk, 2018). Johan is very open and understanding and feels a commitment or responsibility to engage with other members; to exchange ideas or help process some of the new feelings that members can have when they start practising yoga or meditation. Johan expresses how he experiences his role towards new members: *"If a new member needs to figure out what kind of place this is, it is often me who plays a certain role and, indirectly, a certain energy is drawn towards me"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

While Cova and Cova (2002) argue that tribes generally do no rely on a central power to maintain social order, Tinkuy has certain members, including Johan, that inspire and influence other members to converge towards similar norms and behaviours that ensures a calm, diverse and open environment in Tinkuy. In Tinkuy there are traces and signs that guide the members' behaviour. These act as suggestions that govern different areas like noise levels and cellular usage in the lounge, refilling of various items like soap, toilet paper and tea, and the functionality of the 'put and take' concept that applies to both the bookshelf and food items in the kitchen. These guidelines are all created or sanctioned by Johan to ensure alignment with the purpose and vision of Tinkuy. Mitchell and Imrie (2011) identified a different role, the Chief, who holds high levels of cultural capital, acts as an opinion leader, influencer and organiser of activities within the tribe. They ascribe particular

importance to the Chief's role as a gatekeeper and point of access to the tribe in terms of understanding tribal dynamics and values. Our findings echo these, and despite the collective and social nature of Tinkuy, we believe that the tribe would not exist and function without the initiative, purpose and drive of Johan.

Interestingly, members acknowledge the presence and influence of Johan, but seem to downplay the existence of a hierarchy in the tribe. Johan does not view it as a hierarchy but a collective process where everyone is equal: *"There is no hierarchy. The members who have been here for a long time have the kindness to help new members"* (Frederiksen, 2018). However, most members agree that there is a certain initial difference between the role of old and new members in the tribe. Flemming mentions that a hierarchy existed in the beginning when no one knew the boundaries and opportunities of the new tribe. Older members would achieve a small status as someone who knew how it all fit together, but this changed as the vision and norms took root among the members: *"You have a sort of collective way of interacting, and then you quickly start decoding how you behave here. And then you start adapting almost without thinking"* (Gydsbæk, 2018).

It seems that there exists a dissonance between the way members perceive and articulate Johan's role as a leader and the level of hierarchy, and the actual procedure through which decisions and guidelines are made in Tinkuy. While the overarching vision and decisions for the future of Tinkuy are discussed and decided by Johan and Tanja, the daily management of Tinkuy feels very inclusive and collective to the members. The decisions seem to be congruent with where the members want to Tinkuy to evolve, and with a collectively rooted vision and procedure for accomplishing the tribe's goals, people feel equal and as a part of something bigger: *"Well there is no defined hierarchy. What I feel when I am here, is that there is no hierarchy, so everyone is equal. Even the daily manager Johan, who, basically, is the top of the hierarchy – but it does not feel that way"* (Carreon, 2018).

Spirituality

Spirituality is very important to the members of Tinkuy. While difficult to define, it seems to exist in one way or another, both in the social space of Tinkuy, during activities, and in certain parts of the vision. It feeds into the vision through its connection to self-discovery and connecting to the self, which Johan believes must be achieved before energy can be directed at improving society. He talks about his goals for society and how spirituality is related to the community: *"The collective human dream is connected to spirituality; something larger than yourself"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

Tinkuy is called a spiritual fitness centre to signal that the mind and spirit also needs exercise to grow strong and stay healthy. Flemming says that he can feel the spirituality in the Tinkuy members, and while numerous different views and levels of belief exist within Tinkuy, people are open and there is room for everyone: *"No one frowns upon alternative beliefs [in Tinkuy]. Even though not everyone is into reading Tarot cards and astrology"* (Gydsbæk, 2018).

Desirée mentions that spirituality to her is being 'heart warm'. It entails being true to yourself and meeting new people with an open and compassionate mind. She explains how a spark can arise when people meet and that the energy she feels when working with people towards a higher purpose is spiritual to her (Nielsen, 2018).

Jacob sees spirituality as something more individualistic and as a path on which you can find personal growth. To him, yoga is the purest path to enlightenment and a spiritual way of following his heart. To that end, he describes Tinkuy as "*a great place where people can sprout and grow, you can say there are some good fundamentals [for spirituality]"* (Dernje, 2018). Jacob believes that delving deeper into spirituality and yoga requires self-practice, in the sense that people should not simply copy what others think or do but acquire the tools to make their own decisions and experiences from which direction and higher purpose can be found.

Tinkuy's vision is closely connected to spirituality and seems to be expressing a certain dissatisfaction with what they see as process of disenchantment of the modern world. Cova and Cova (2002) mention that postmodern tribes mirror the social dynamics of archaic tribes in a process of re-enchanting the world. Several members express concern with where society is heading and feel like certain values regarding compassion, openness and spirituality have been lost in the name of rationalisation and profit. Tinkuy provides a sanctum where people can experiment with and rediscover different levels of the collective mysticism that is connected to yoga, meditation and more alternative approaches and rituals like sound healing, mantras, song circles and cacao ceremonies. Members in Tinkuy feel a dissonance with the Western measures for success and seek alternative meaning and direction in spirituality.

Brands

In Tinkuy, brands seem to play a minimal role, both physically in Tinkuy and in people's minds: "*To be honest I do not think people think a lot about brands here, it is much more experiences. How*

the practical aspects and the circumstances are, that does not matter so much" (Carreon, 2018). Instead, the focus is on the attributes of the items, exemplified by the Tinkuy's consumption of hand soap, dishwashing liquid, and cleaning products for the floors and toilet. They are all from the brand Sonett and are organic, natural, and biodegradable. However, neither Tinkuy nor its members report any connection to that particular brand, but only its features: *"It is probably quite random that it is this particular brand, but not that it is organic"* (Gydsbæk, 2018). On a practical level, Johan states that the soap and cleaning products have been procured by the member Laugrits, who is passionate about the environment and sustainability. After conferring with Johan and obtaining his permission, he purchased a large shipment on behalf of Tinkuy. Johan further notes that when the current stock is used, Tinkuy is very likely to buy new soap and cleaning products that are equally sustainable, but that the producer and brand are unimportant.

The yoga mats, blankets, pillows, and other equipment used for activities show no preference for any particular brands. In fact, all of the equipment has been donated by Tinkuy members, why it comes in a wide variety of brands, shapes, and sizes (Frederiksen, 2018). Members attending yoga classes pay little attention to which brand the mats are: *"… I do not think about which colour, which brand it is, no. I just take the one that is vacant"* (Carreon, 2018). Generally, the class activity seems to be the focal point rather than the equipment. Jacob notes: *"The simpler yoga is, in my opinion, the cooler it is. It is in fact working with one self, so if you have a mat it is luxurious, and if it has to be really nice then also a blanket. From there, I feel a lot of the other extra equipment becomes completely irrelevant"* (Dernje, 2018).

Regarding the clothing of Tinkuy members, it seems that there is a great diversity and a liberal way of dressing. Neil perceived that what people wear: *"… is just everyday clothing, their own clothing. That, which defines them as persons. Again, we accept everyone down here [Tinkuy]. There is room for everyone, how you look and what you wear"* (Carreon, 2018). No brands are visually prominent in Tinkuy members' outfits. Many wear apparel without visible logos, and the amount of members who wear suits and high fashion clothing is marginal. Rather, second-hand clothing is common. Flemming states that the majority of his clothes are second-hand, and that he does not place great significance on what he wears. There seems to be less focus on the perceptions and opinions of others; people wear what they please and feel comfortable in. For example, several members wear harem pants and loose colourful clothing. This also holds true in the yoga classes, which, according

to Jacob, in many other places parallel a fashion show where people pay a significant amount of attention to what they wear and how others perceive them: *"Here I must say Tinkuy has been outstanding. I have been surprised, because it [the clothing] is really free…"* (Ibid.).

Conclusively, there is a notion of anti-branding present in Tinkuy and its members There is great emphasis on recycling, and items are repaired when they break rather than thrown out, showing a resistance to excessive consumption. In fact, Jacob believes that: *"… yoga and brands are self-contradicting… the need for a strong brand is a deficiency in one self. But the humanity is one big hole internally, and that is also why marketing and brands have an enormous presence and doing but would be obsolete with a little more consciousness in the population"* (Ibid.). He elaborates that the mentioned deficiency is one of self-esteem, and predicts that when people become more confident in themselves, external stimuli like traditional marketing will decline as people will be more in contact with and driven by their internal needs and wants. He exemplifies by comparing fashionism to religion: *"In 50 years' time we will also laugh at the fact that people worshipped those design gurus to that extent; that their self-esteem was raised by knowing that some designer had put his brand on it. That is as religious as a lot of other stuff"* (Ibid.).

Co-creation

Not only the yoga equipment has been donated by the members of Tinkuy. Desirée narrates how the only things Tinkuy has bought are the paper lamps and the two long tables, while the other objects gradually have found their way into Tinkuy through its members' good will. While some chairs originate from another community in Hellerup which bought new ones and donated their old, some are from a school, and others are from individual members. One member brought a coat rack, another a bookshelf, a third a couch, while others decorated the rooms with drawings, paintings, and figurines. The rooms carry stories and traces of many members' contributions, to which Johan attributes central significance in creating the community spirit and diversity. *"The room we sit in here. It is mottled. Diverse. Co-created"* (Frederiksen, 2018). The donations provide members with a feeling of contributing with something valuable and ability to shape, influence, and co-create the community. Further, they add a personal touch to Tinkuy and show members that their engagement and influence is appreciated and even essential for the community: *"Many of the things are made by the members, and it means something to the people who decorated the room"* (Ibid.).

The same pattern shows in the kitchen, where members have donated not only the pots, pans, knives, cutting boards, mugs, and drinking glasses, but also gift fruits, vegetables, and other food

items on a regular basis. Also, a plethora of tea is available for members to freely consume. You can drink as much as you want, and you are not required to bring or buy any tea. Instead, there is a small note encouraging members to bring tea whenever they have some to spare. Interestingly, the system works successfully, and tea is never in short supply. It seems that when people experience no expectation or externally imposed duty to buy or bring things, an internally driven desire to contribute positively to the community arises.

Finally, co-creation is expressed in Tinkuy through the 'put and take' stand for items such as clothes, kitchen articles, posters, CDs, and movies located in the entrance. This provides a platform for members to pass on obsolete items to others who might benefit from them instead of throwing them out. Similarly, there is a community library in the form of a bookshelf from which members can borrow up to two donated books at a time, return them and then bring home new ones. These initiatives represent Tinkuy's stance on materialism and liberal attitude towards the concept of ownership. There is a consensus and understanding that objects should be where they can be of most benefit, and that you sometimes have to give to a stranger to receive from another in a karmic cycle.

Green Values

In Tinkuy, sustainability and the environment are key values: *"I could imagine that people are greener here. They focus a lot on the environment and how society could be better by focusing on organic products, less consumption, more recycling"* (Carreon, 2018). Flemming concurs, and adds that he sees a connection between yoga and environmental consciousness: *"I will estimate that people are more environmentally conscious [in Tinkuy]. I think that when people start doing yoga, some sort of awakening happens. You get more in tune with your body. Start thinking about the environment"* (Gydsbæk, 2018). These values manifest themselves both in the biodegradable and organic cleaning products, and the large amount of organic products in the kitchen such as tea, vegetables, flour, lentils, spices and so on. Jacob believes sustainable and organic products should be the norm and that the current system is upside-down: *"Everything should in principle be made sustainable or just be called normal, and then we could put skull-warnings on all that poison-crap. But today we have made the opposite, where you have to pay money to be certified organic, but if you just want to contaminate consumers or the neighbourhood then you can just continue as per usual"* (Dernje, 2018).

The focus on the environment also manifests in the culinary habits of Tinkuy members. Neil himself is vegan and notes: *"I think a large part of the community is vegetarian or vegan"* (Carreon,

2018). It comes naturally for meat eaters to consider these preferences: *"When cooking, you take into account that people might be vegetarian, even though you eat meat yourself"* (Gydsbæk, 2018). Practically, this means cooking meat separately, so that everyone can eat according to their personal wishes. Contrary to how many might perceive vegans in general, there is no judgement of meat eaters or any other food ideologies in Tinkuy: *"Again, everything is accepted. Just because I am vegan I do not have the right to judge you as a person, that is not how it works at all. It is a personal choice, and it is up to one self when you want to do something. Because we have different truths and different values. And you just have to accept that. Accept all people as they are"* (Carreon, 2018). The reasons for abstaining from eating meat among Tinkuy members include environmental impact, but also involves animal welfare and personal health. As such, the eating habits of Tinkuy seems to echo the desire to cause a positive shift in society by promoting sustainability, hindering excessive consumption, and reducing one's own impact on the planet.

Experimentation, Rituals and Traditions

Tinkuy takes pride in being a place where people can experiment with different tools and techniques for self-realisation. Yoga and meditation are the two biggest activities in Tinkuy; there are many different forms of both but they seem to be easier to relate to and understand for new members, compared to the more experimental and alternative classes. However, experimentation seems to be an essential part of why new members join Tinkuy. They want to try something new that can mix physical activity with mindfulness and join Tinkuy's yoga and meditation classes. As times passes, member express a desire to move on to new and more exciting activities. Our personal experiences in Tinkuy confirm this process: as people become more integrated in the tribe and the social life, they discover how other members experiment with various classes, which opens new doors and possibilities. Trust is essential in this process and many of the social bonds that exist between Tinkuy members arise during this collective experimentation.

Many of the classes and events, as well as different aspects of the social life and culture in Tinkuy, have certain rituals or traditions associated with them. The first thing you notice as a new member after the warm welcome, is the long and intimate hugs that are exchanged between other members. At first, we found them intimidating but quickly saw them as an effective way of getting closer to other members without knowing them or having to talk to them first. Neil explains how the hugs can be used to bypass some of the awkwardness that can arise when people meet and how it is important to him that people feel welcome in Tinkuy: "*A smile on the lips, a hug. It is a gift, when you*

smile to one another. The hugs we give are not superficial hugs, but genuine hugs. From the heart" (Carreon, 2018). He adds that it helps build a certain energy and joy among the members that makes it easier to face the challenges of life: *"For me, when I get eye contact with a person and feel like a hug, then I do it"* (Ibid.).

Flemming is very emotionally connected to the cacao ceremonies that he hosts a few times a month. During the ceremony members sit in a circle and express their intention for participating in the ceremony. Then the cacao drink is brought in and music is played while people meditate and concentrate on the taste of the cacao and being present in the moment. After the meditation there are different eye contact and trust exercises, sometimes followed by an intensification of the music, that lets people express themselves physically, sometimes through dancing. Lastly, people convene in the circle and process the entire ceremony which can last up to four hours. Flemming explains how he feels about the ceremony: *"I think it is an attempt, for me, to create a more socially spacious way of being together. Where people can feel each other and allow themselves to be vulnerable and open their hearts"*(Gydsbæk, 2018).

Another tradition that both Flemming and Johan mention is drinking a cup of tea. It does not sound like much but after several months of coming in Tinkuy, we have observed that people use the tea actively as a tool and symbol for having intimate conversations. Members in Tinkuy drink a lot of tea but there is a significant difference between making a cup of tea and being asked if you want to share a cup of tea with someone. This entails personal or deeper conversations in close proximity, oftentimes in the sofa under a shared blanket or while holding hands.

These examples show how the rituals and traditions facilitate the link between the individual and the collective on a social level. Many of the classes and activities process from seeking inner peace and balance to achieving some sort of collective feeling of togetherness. This is part of what makes the Tinkuy community so strong; it is constantly evolving and facilitating a social and collective journey for its members towards self-awareness.

Characterising Tinkuy as a Community

Consumer Tribe
Having characterised the emerging themes, values and behaviours in Tinkuy, we now have a foundation for clarifying what elements of community that Tinkuy shares with other community types.

Similarly to archaic tribes, Tinkuy acts as a collective counterpower to the institutionalised society and values (Cova & Cova, 2002). Members in Tinkuy feel a resistance towards the destructive consequences of the competitiveness in society both in regards to environment, stress and unhappiness. This does not manifest in Tinkuy as a forceful opposition but as a constructive and collective desire for change. Another trait shared with archaic tribes is the concept of re-enchanting the world. The feeling that something is wrong in society has spurred a desire to rediscover 'the magical' in an attempt to connect with others. In Tinkuy, it is expressed as yearning for the spiritual and for something larger than the self. Members talk of a collective energy that arises in the meeting and interaction with others, both through ceremonies and socialising in the tribe. They share a passion and a vision for a better future, which gives them a sense of purpose and a belief that life can feel enchanted again.

One trait that Tinkuy does not share completely with the archaic tribes is the non-reliance on a central power to maintain social order. The role of Chief in Tinkuy is filled by Johan, the daily manager, who acts as a guide that makes sure everything runs smoothly in the tribe. From refilling the soap and toilet paper to hinting at best behaviours and norms regarding noise levels and use of smartphones. However, this does not create a sense of hierarchy among the members, who feel included and congruent with the vision for what Tinkuy wants to achieve as a tribe. The original ideas and norms that Johan wanted to implement gradually took hold in Tinkuy's members to a point where a collective feeling of responsibility for the daily functionality is now fully rooted among the more experienced members. The most fundamental similarity that Tinkuy shares with the archaic tribes is the gathering around non-rational elements like passion, emotion and trust. The members of Tinkuy are very passionate about the vision for Tinkuy. Almost all members work with self-realisation to a certain degree, and the closer Tinkuy lies to their heart, the more passionately they uphold and live out Tinkuy's values of openness, trust and intimacy.

Tinkuy has several similarities with the archaic tribes but Cova and Cova (2002) also present several points where the postmodern tribes are different from the archaic ones. In Tinkuy, members can belong to other tribes without problem. We have seen examples of members co-existing in several communities as long as their values are congruent with certain aspects of his identity and do not conflict. The archaic tribes were totalising and members could only belong to one tribe. While Tinkuy may be geographically bound like the archaic tribes, the vision for a better society and the

openness and warmth extend beyond the tribe and reside with the members as they interact with society. However, most other consumer tribes are ephemeral in nature and Tinkuy seems to be a very enduring concept. While the ideas, beliefs and experiments within the tribe may be fleeting and dynamic, the boundaries, norms and direction for the tribe are constant and unwavering.

Brand Community

The most important characteristic of a brand community is the brand around which the community exists. In Tinkuy, there is no focal brand, and brands generally seem to play a minimal role. In fact, there is a notion of anti-branding permeating the community, and members consciously seek to limit their consumption. Indeed, one could argue that the activities in Tinkuy represent a collective and social interaction between members rather than the consumption of services in its traditional sense.

Despite not being centred around a brand, Tinkuy shares certain traits with brand communities. Shared rituals and traditions are a key part of both communities, representing vital social processes through which meaning is reproduced and transmitted (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). In Tinkuy, the rituals and traditions are not centred around a brand, but self-realisation and social interaction. These can both be structured and unstructured, exemplified by cacao ceremonies and casually drinking a cup of tea in the lounge.

Another shared trait is the sense of moral obligation felt towards both individual members and the community as a whole. There is an understanding that welcoming new members, cleaning, and keeping the kitchen neat is a common responsibility necessary to uphold for the sustenance of Tinkuy. New members rapidly begin to take part in these tasks; not because they are forced but because the community inspires it.

Consciousness of kind is another shared trait. Members of Tinkuy feel a certain 'we-ness' and a strong social connection with one another. However, the concept unfolds in a different way than described by Muniz and O'Guinn (2001), as Tinkuy is geographically bound and the feeling of knowing community members with whom you have never interacted therefore is replaced by actually knowing them and interacting in person.

Contrary to the non-geographically bound brand communities, Tinkuy's location is fixed on Skytte-gade 3. All community activities and interaction take place there, supplemented by the limited interaction on the online platforms. Another factor distinguishing the two community types is that brand communities are based on a structured set of social relations, whereas the social relations in Tinkuy are more open, loose, and dynamic.

Brand Public

Tinkuy exhibits characteristics completely antagonistic to those of brand publics, which exist virtually and are composed of a continuity of mediation practices devoid of interpersonal interaction (Arvidsson and Caliandro, 2015). In Tinkuy, the media space is used primarily for planning activities in the calendar and posting events on Facebook. Personal interaction lies at the heart of Tinkuy but happens only offline. However, similarly to brand publics where members deduce part of their identity from the mediated brand, certain member types in Tinkuy have a deductive approach to interacting with the collective identity. Through activities and socialising, these members assume a group identity similarly to how brand public members assume an identity through the mediation of brands (Postmes et al., 2005).

Conclusively, Tinkuy is a community with deep social roots and a collective vision for rebalancing society and the people who live in it. There is a firm belief that self-realisation and mindfulness is the first step on the path to a more collective level of enlightenment, and members in Tinkuy experiment with different tools, techniques and beliefs within yoga, meditation and spirituality to achieve this goal. At the same time, Tinkuy is a very social community where members are close to each other both physically and emotionally. There is a high level of trust among members, and everyone feels welcome and appreciated in the diverse and co-created family of Tinkuy.

The intensity of the social relations means more than the centrality of tribal activities to self. In Tinkuy you cannot refer to consumption activities but instead tribal activities that let the members experiment with different forms of self-realisation. Most of Tinkuy's activities, social life, and vision exist on the invisible axis of Cova and Cova's (2002) tribal clover, meaning that the essence of Tinkuy's collective spirit is comprised of intangible elements and values that can be hard to comprehend for an outsider.

Tinkuy has many member types, and the Chief, Johan, plays a significant role for Tinkuy's continued existence. Members relate differently to the group identity; some have an inductive, bottom-up

process through which they influence the group, and others have a deductive top-down process through which superordinate group properties, values, and norms are applied to the self.

Tinkuy shares certain traits with both the brand community and the brand public but clearly has the highest resemblance with the consumer tribe. Despite relying on a central leadership to a certain degree, Tinkuy acts as a collective counterpower to society, gathers around non-rational elements and participates in a process of re-enchanting the world. However, Tinkuy does not exist to facilitate shared consumption, but manifests a vision for changing society by rediscovering a collective self through experimentation, spirituality and rituals of intimate socialising. This interestingly means that Tinkuy can be viewed not as a consumer tribe but rather a social tribe as consumption in a traditional sense is not essential for Tinkuy.

Cultural Analysis

According to Schein (2004), the road to understanding the core of Tinkuy's culture goes through three levels of analysis. It initiates with the superficial and visible artefacts, then moves to the espoused values and concludes at the deep and subconscious level of the underlying assumptions.

Artefacts

Artefacts are the most visible and conscious manifestations of the culture in an organisation. To structure our analysis and encompass both the physical and behavioural characteristics, we have been inspired by the theoretical concepts of Schein's internal integration and Schultz' artefact types with point of departure in our empirical data (Schein, 2004; Schultz, 1990).

Conversations	Physical intimacy	Behaviour and appearance	Physical objects and rooms	Ideologies and stories
Cup of tea	The long hug	Guideline notes	Kitchen and food items	Vegetarianism Environmental sustainability
Intimate conversation	Eye contact	Talking stick Extra key	Furniture, art, library 'put and take'	Spirituality
Intellectual conversation	Cuddling	Clothing and appearance	Treatment rooms	New Circle Movement

Table 1 - Overview of Artefact Types

Physical Objects

Kitchen and Food Items

The crowded kitchen is approximately 20 square metres in size and upon entry, an array of pots, pans, knives, cutting boards, mugs, drinking glasses, and teapots meet the eye. All these items have voluntarily been donated by Tinkuy members. On the wall, there are large windows and a table housing Tinkuy's member-donated tea collection, which at any point counts 15-30 different kinds of herbal tea, green tea and black tea. These items are regularly used by members, who find freedom in being able to cook as they please. The kitchen constitutes a social gathering point where people interact either shortly while brewing tea and cleaning or for a longer time while cooking and sharing meal.

Most food items in the fridge are free to be consumed by the hungry members. Several of the products in the fridge are vegan and a large part of them are organic, including the tea on the table. Opposite of the fridge are big boxes with signs for sorting trash into metal, plastic, glass, paper, and cardboard. Members place great importance in sorting trash and fighting food waste, which is shown by how some of them regularly dumpster dive for edible fruits and vegetables and donate their outcome.

Furniture and Wall Art

Upon entering the lounge in Tinkuy, a diverse, colourful, and slightly chaotic room reveals itself. There are chairs in green, blue, and red supplemented by tranquil Buddha paintings in vibrant purple, red, and blue colours and miscellaneous wall decorations. This relaxed approach to interior decoration facilitates a felt freedom in the room; that there is space for everything and everyone.

The two long tables in the middle of the lounge and the paper lamps above them are the only things bought by Tinkuy, while the rest has been donated. Therefore, the room carries stories and traces of many members' contributions, which attests the community spirit. It invites members to contribute items they can spare or that otherwise would have been trashed and provide them with a feeling of being able to shape, influence, and co-create the community. *"Many of the things are made by the members, and it means something to the people who decorated the room"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

Library and 'Put and Take' stand

The community library is located in the lounge and is a bookshelf from which members can borrow up to two donated books at a time, return them and then bring home new ones. It contains roughly 200 books and 100 magazines, most of which are on the topic of spirituality and self-realisation. You can often find members scrolling through or discussing the books, spurring conversation and interaction.

Similarly to the library, there is a 'put and take' stand in the entrance, on which items such as clothes, kitchen articles, posters, CDs, and movies are donated. Members make use of the stand, and the items upon it turnover rapidly. The two initiatives provide a platform for members to pass on obsolete items to others who might benefit from them instead of throwing them out. Further, it represents a consensus and understanding that objects should be where they can be of most benefit, and that you sometimes have to give to a stranger to receive from another in a karmic cycle.

Guideline Notes

In Tinkuy, small notes encourage members what to consider in their behaviour (Appendix 1). In the bathrooms, there are notes informing members that cleaning is a joint responsibility, and that if the bathroom is clean, it is thanks to another Tinkuy member. Then an open question inquiring if members have 10 minutes to spare today is followed by basic instructions on where the cleaning articles can be found. The open nature of the instructions set a loose frame for members to creatively fill in the manner they see fit, allowing them to clean in the way the like. As such, members are more internally motivated by a desire to contribute rather than externally motivated by duty. The same tone is articulated in the notes in the kitchen stating that doing the dishes and bringing tea likewise is a joint responsibility. Finally, there is a note encouraging members not to be too loud in extended periods of time, as some sit and work during the day.

The only codified rule is that members cannot wear shoes inside (Frederiksen, 2018). This rule is explicitly communicated through two signs upon entering Tinkuy. It is the only behaviour other members will address if not adhered to. Several times we have noticed kind reminders that 'we do not wear shoes inside', whereas we have yet to experience any reminders on cleaning, doing dishes, or refilling paper towels.

Talking Stick

For use in the Tinkuy council and certain ceremonies, Tinkuy has a Native American talking stick. It is 20 cm long and is equipped with a small feather. When sitting in a circle and talking through decisions, the one with the talking stick has the sole right to talk, while others listen attentively. The talking stick only used in special occasions, and members acknowledge its authority and purpose. The talking stick sets the tone and ensures that conflicts do not escalate, but remain mutually respectful disagreements. *"There is a thought that a certain energy flows through you when you sit with this [the talking stick]. It has a lot to do with intention. Physical objects can be conducive to that"* (Frederiksen, 2018).

Extra Keys

The door to Tinkuy is open most of the day and night. If not, members can pick up one of three extra keys at the neighbouring hostel. All that is required is that members sign their name in a book and return the key afterwards. Effectively, Tinkuy is open around the clock to anyone with knowledge of the keys. This facilitates a felt openness and welcoming trust among members. *"Here, you are always welcome. The door is open and if not, you can pick up the extra key"* (Gydsbæk, 2018). Interestingly, nothing has ever been stolen in Tinkuy's three and a half year's lifespan.

Clothing and Appearance

The appearance of Tinkuy members is diverse and the way of dressing is liberal. No brands are visually prominent in Tinkuy members' outfits, and many wear apparel without visible logos while the amount of members who wear suits and high fashion clothing is marginal. Members report placing little emphasis on what they wear as long as they feel comfortable in it. Wearing second-hand clothing is common and we have observed a high prevalence of vibrant colours and patterns. There is an acceptance of the diversity in members' clothing, and we have observed an openness devoid of judgment both between members and in the attitude towards us and our clothing.

Physical Intimacy

Tinkuy is a very social and at times intimate community. When you first walk through the doors as a new member, you notice that other members greet each other with deep and intimate, *long hugs*.

This occurs both when people meet and when they conclude either an activity or conversation. Many of the activities in Tinkuy have a certain level of build-up that finds release at the end of class, and we have observed certain processing rituals after class where people hug and share their experiences. Johan explains how openness and trust are expressed through these hugs: *"They are interrelated. Touch means something [in Tinkuy], because it is our experience, that being touched brings you back in the body. That is, you feel your body again, you feel a vibration or heat in the body, you are conscious about your body. That bodily contact – both with your own body, but also with others – can help you achieve bodily awareness"* (Frederiksen, 2018b).

Connected to the intimacy between members is the prolonged *eye contact*. This is slightly harder to observe but hard to miss once you have noticed it. It occurs during conversations and is articulated between members via the eye contact classes that are held a few times a month. This means that members discuss and pay extra attention to the importance of holding eye contact during conversations. Desirée explains that keeping eye contact with another human being lets you really see the intention and person behind the appearance.

Members in Tinkuy like to *cuddle* under the blankets. As new members, this pushed some boundaries for what we thought were accepted behaviour between friends, but we realised that members in Tinkuy quickly form a strong emotional and physical bond. Flemming explains how the close proximity and intimacy facilitates trust and makes it easier to have deep and meaningful conversations. As we integrated in the tribe and abandoned some of the restrictions and judgements that that follow us in society, we came to understand and appreciate the intimacy in Tinkuy and the special bond it creates between the members. As Desirée puts it: *"Really, it is just love springing from the heart. It is not fake"* (Nielsen, 2018).

Conversations and Language

The language and tone in Tinkuy is expressed between people in the colloquial and relaxed atmosphere of the lounge and kitchen but takes on a more ritual character during the spiritual incantations and rhythms of the various experimental classes. In the lounge and sofa people have conversations. These have varying character, from the safe and intimate conversations between two people or professional talks about treatments, healing and yoga to broader societal discussions in plenum about the function and role of Tinkuy. These conversations are almost ritually initiated by drinking tea together, to a point where you can tell the depth or significance of a conversation by whether it began

with a pot of tea. People use certain words and phrases in Tinkuy that express ideas and understandings of a connectivity between the mind, body, energy, and collectively; ideas that would not necessarily be understood or accepted outside Tinkuy. They refer to finding yourself, of being rooted, having your heart with you, and feeling your surroundings.

In the activity room, there are few conversations, and the room is generally void of language but instead filled with sounds and music. From time to time, you will hear teachers make instructions or corrections, but any collective voicing will come from chanting or singing. The activity room follows the daily rhythm of Shiva and Shakti, which means that it will start in a slow and disciplined rhythm with meditation and yoga in the morning and then take on a more wild and experimental character with dancing, mantra-singing and ceremonies: "...*We tell our teachers that there is room for experiments; that Tinkuy is a place where you can experiment, you can enter the activity room with an intention but without knowing how the class is going to happen*" (Frederiksen, 2018b).

The core classes of yoga and meditation are where most of Tinkuy's members meet on a daily or weekly routine. Several member talk of a gradual journey or development towards more self-realisation or embodiment of spirit. People see familiar faces, practices and poses in class, which makes them feel like a family; a part of something larger than themselves. The alternative classes are taken more spontaneously, depending on the mood or daily inspiration or story that a member is told. These two types of activities can be seen as their own artefacts, separate from language and expressing the poles between balance and chaos.

Therapy Rooms

Connected to the lounge, there are two separate therapy rooms in which massages, healing, psychotherapy, and coaching sessions take place. The rooms are decorated with tranquil art and candles and can be locked to create a safe space for the client. In addition to regular wellness, the therapy rooms represent a deeper and more intense practice of spirituality and self-realisation, in which members can enter and release traumas or difficult emotions such as anxiety, stress, and sorrow. The rooms and the members using them indicate a certain level of trust, which is required to comfortably enter a vulnerable state.

Ideologies and Stories

In Tinkuy, certain ideologies are expressed in member behaviour and articulated in conversations. These artefacts can be hard to perceive at first, but play an important role for how the members of Tinkuy understand themselves in relation to society.

Spirituality

Spirituality plays a big part of the everyday life in Tinkuy. By coming in Tinkuy, members feel closer to spirituality, but most have a difficult time conceptualising what it is: *"Spirituality is being yourself, being your true self. That is spirituality to me. It is at least a prerequisite for opening yourself to it. It is actually a good question what spirituality is. I have no clear answer to that"* (Frederiksen, 2018b).

It is part of the story that members in Tinkuy tell each other and tell outsiders. This story tells of energy, and how a higher level of energy can be achieved alongside new perspective on life when you do yoga and meditation with like-minded. It also tells of 'heart warmth' and living through your body instead of your head: *"We are heart- and body-based… Ask your body what you want to do today. Where do you want to be right now? We practice asking down here [the heart] and the entire body instead of here [the head]"* (Nielsen, 2018).

The spirituality is closely connected to the collective community feeling that exists in Tinkuy. Members feel safe and at home in the tribe; a place where they work with themselves and experiment with different ideas of collective consciousness that includes them in something larger than themselves: "*It is something about being open to that there is something bigger than yourself. If that roots in you, you start to act from another place. Then it is less about me, me, me and more about opening yourself, serving something bigger"* (Frederiksen, 2018b).

Environmental Sustainability

In Tinkuy, members *"… focus a lot on the environment and how society could be better by focusing on organic products, less consumption, more recycling"* (Carreon, 2018). This ideology manifests itself physically in the biodegradable and organic cleaning products and the large amount of organic products in the kitchen such as tea, vegetables, flour, lentils, and spices. The green ideology is articulated verbally in conversations between members in the lounge and especially in the kitchen when

cooking. Behaviourally, members exhibit environmental engagement in their meticulous sorting of the trash and in certain members' dumpster diving activities to fight food waste.

Vegetarianism

Environmental sustainability extends its roots into the culinary habits of Tinkuy members: *"I think a large part of the community is vegetarian or vegan"* (Carreon, 2018). The reasons for abstaining from eating meat among Tinkuy members include environmental impact, but also involves animal welfare and personal health. The physical traces of this artefact encompass the food items in the kitchen and the dishes cooked by members, who largely are devoid of meat. When cooking for several members, meat is cooked separately in consideration for people who might not eat meat. In addition to the physical and behavioural exhibitions of vegetarianism, the ideology is verbally articulated among members who share recipes, inspiration, and their favourite vegetarian and vegan-friendly restaurants.

New Circle Movement

New Circle Movement (NCM) is part of the vision for a society that members in Tinkuy have; a story about a society in decay and an unstable economic system to which Tinkuy symbolises a sustainable, fair and mindful alternative.

NCM is an online organisational tool that aims to support community-oriented projects. Tinkuy is part of NCM as one of its first major projects. Besides the project support, NCM aims to create an alternative digital currency that works only on the NCM platform. The purpose is to create a currency that gives members equal access to the support and resources that NCM provides. The currency has a fixed depreciation rate, which is intended to incentivise an exchange and flow of resources between members as opposed to the societal capital system that rewards accumulation. The NCM project intends to spread and evolve to become an alternative to the modern capital system and is a clear expression of Tinkuy's distrust in society and its desire for change.

Espoused Values

Following the analysis of the artefacts in Tinkuy which exist on the outer and most visible layer of the culture, the next step in understanding Tinkuy's cultural identity is investigating the espoused values articulated and expressed by its members. These espoused values regard members' perception of how things should be as opposed to how they actually are. The purpose of this analysis is to

comprehend the values that act as governing premises for members' classification of actions and conditions as either desirable or undesirable (Schultz, 1990).

Heart Warmth

Heart warmth is an essential value in Tinkuy that governs how members sort conditions and actions as either desirable or undesirable. Heart warmth is expressed in the meeting between people and through the intimate physical and emotional exchanges that manifests via the hugs, eye contact and conversations. It means that members in Tinkuy feel safe within the tribal boundaries and that they can open up and be themselves: *"We view it holistically and humans as whole beings with the sets of resources that entails. And that means that everyone is equal"* (Nielsen, 2018).

Heart warmth governs how members meet new members and how they respond to stories or worries shared by their friends. It is the foundation for a consensus among members concerning how you interact with other people and put aside own prejudice, worries, or opinions, and instead try to understand and connect with the person in front of you.

Heart warmth also solidifies certain reactions to behaviour or language that fall outside these boundaries and are inconsistent with these values. If people are self-absorbed, unwilling to listen or interact with the community, they would have a hard time fitting in and connecting in Tinkuy.

Heart warmth also entails meeting people and the world with an open heart while being in contact with yourself: *"It [feeling yourself] is the prerequisite for meeting the other person and feeling where the other person is. This is where some of the community is created"* (Frederiksen, 2018b). Tinkuy acts as a safe haven where people can experiment with how they want society to be. This requires a certain curiosity for life and exploring the world with an open heart is important to many members in Tinkuy who worry that we will repeat the mistakes of the past: *"If we do not have it [curiosity], I think you recreate the things we know. Then it is like a broken record. The conversation might be fun or comfortable or safe that way, but it goes in circles. What is needed is, really, that we together figure out what we wish to be born between us"* (Ibid.).

A Co-created Community

Continuously co-creating the meaning and physical expression of Tinkuy is a value held by all members of Tinkuy, but especially those with long tenure who strongly identify with the vision and values of the community. Practically, it manifests itself in the items donated by members and the appreciation hereof: *"What is on the walls is something members have brought, and some might*

have been drawing at the table one night, and then it is that drawing we put on the wall. It is not an expensive 3,000 kroner painting. This signals that what members contribute with actually is appreciated. That is what we deem interesting, not which experts we can attract from outside or fancy art" (Frederiksen, 2018b). In addition to bringing items, members help in cleaning, ordering, and keeping Tinkuy neat and tidy. They take part in the co-creation because they like to, and not out of duty: *"There is a joy to contributing. It has created a sense of responsibility. It is our place. It is our home. Sometimes it may look a bit messy… But it is like a home. It is our things. There are memories and things that makes sense to us"* (Nielsen, 2018).

The sense of shared responsibility is essential in the values' role as a premise for distinguishing between desirable and undesirable behaviour. Through this value, desirable behaviour and attitude can be understood as assuming responsibility for the tribe as a whole and contributing when one is willing and able to either materially or immaterially. Further, it entails appreciating the contributions of others while understanding one's own possibility to impact the community in a desired direction. Undesirable behaviour would in turn be understood as being inconsiderate to the community and the time invested by others, for example by leaving your dirty tea cup in the lounge, not folding your yoga mat after use or leaving trash.

The guideline notes embody the co-creation of Tinkuy by explicitly stating what constitutes desired behaviour. However, they are no more than guidelines; there is no enforcement or check-ups of members' behaviour. This is possible due to the trust members place in one another and in the community as a whole. There is an acknowledgement of and respect for the concept of co-creating the community, and that it is a task which must be undertaken together. There is also a respect for the objects in the community, and that they have been contributed by someone else and must be taken proper care of.

The respect for other members is expressed by use of the talking stick in the Tinkuy council and certain ceremonies. It is central to the narrative of co-creation in Tinkuy that a sense of equality among members exists; that everyone has the same opportunity to speak and be heard. This participation provides members with a notion of belonging, and that they are a part of carrying out Tinkuy's vision for a better society.

Changing Society for the Better

Taking part in changing society for the better is a value and aspiration held by most members of Tinkuy. One aspect of influencing society positively is through sustainability, the importance of which is manifested both in explicit articulation by members and in their behaviours. They create a green narrative in which desirable behaviour includes considering the environment in all aspects, and it is especially evident in vegetarian eating habits, purchasing organic and biodynamic food items, dumpster diving, second-hand clothing, recycling litter, and choosing the bike as a means of transportation. On the contrary, undesirable behaviour includes wasting food, throwing non-obsolete items out, and falling subject to overconsumption.

Another aspect of influencing society positively is through manifesting the visions and values of Tinkuy in the *"...mini reflection of society"* that the community is regarded as (Frederiksen, 2018b). Here, members feel part of a brave group of first movers who demonstrate that alternatives to the current societal structure exist. The narrative of Tinkuy as a fully functioning demonstration of this impacts both its immediate vicinity and the society positively: *"What Tinkuy does for society is that it increases harmony and diminishes stress"* (Ibid.). When members are in harmony and interact with other people in society, part of the harmony is transferred, and outsiders might become interested in the core values of Tinkuy.

To members of Tinkuy, the tribe likewise represents the incarnation of a long held vision about a sustainable, fair, and mindful alternative to the current society and its inequality and unstable economic system: *"Many of us have been looking for something worth living for in the society that is presented to us. And we have found not only a sanctuary but a place where we can realise what we really want"* (Nielsen, 2018).

A Collective Search for the Spiritual Self

The collective search for something larger than yourself is very important to members in Tinkuy. Many members join the tribe to fill some sort of void in their life; they seek affirmation, company, intimacy, trust or self-realisation. While many reasons exist, most of these motivations journey through a process from the individual to the collective, and many tools, techniques or narratives that frame this journey have a spiritual character. The process corresponds with people facing problems, loneliness or a desire for self-realisation that they cannot meet alone. When members start in Tinkuy, they are timid and unsure of what Tinkuy stands for and how that can help them, but as

they integrate with the tribe and the other members, they learn of new and alternative ways of facing these issues collectively with the others. This is where spirituality plays an important role; in the healing and mending of problems, both physical, emotional and psychological. Additionally, spirituality is expressed in the experimentational classes and rituals, where members venture on a collective spiritual journey towards self-realisation through silent and collective meditation, the sensory cacao ceremony or pulsing mantra singing.

The search for the collective and spiritual governs how members in Tinkuy understand and relate to societal issues like stress or unhappiness. Many members believe that individualism, rationalisation and profit seeking behaviour of the modern society are causing distress and unbalance in society. Therefore, they participate in the process or experiment of bringing back older virtues like collectivity, trust, and spirituality to society. It gives the members something larger than themselves to believe in; a vision for how they want to live their lives and what society could become.

Underlying Assumptions

The final step of the cultural analysis of Tinkuy looks at the underlying assumptions. They represent what the members of Tinkuy do as opposed to what they think they do. This part of the culture is intangible and difficult to define as it resides on an unconscious level. The underlying assumptions frame the connection between the espoused values and artefacts on a deeper and abstract level. Only when this level of the culture is understood, one can uncover the relationship between artefacts and espoused values in the tribe. The purpose of looking at the assumptions through these dimensions is to tie the underlying assumption to the espoused values and look for inconsistencies and consistencies in the culture.

A Society in Distress

The members in Tinkuy want to change society to the better and use Tinkuy as a place to experiment with ideas and concepts of spirituality, collectivity, and self-realisation. However, this desire does not exist solely because the members want to do good, but because they feel something is wrong with the direction that modern society has taken. There exists a general feeling that the current society is destroying the planet, that our work habits cause psychological distress and unhappiness, and that the current economic system creates inequality.

This assumption is mostly consistent with the espoused values Changing Society for the Better and Heart Warmth, as these values centre around reversing this process, either through sustainable initiatives, an alternative economic system in NCM, or by affecting stress levels and imbalance through mindfulness and self-realisation. However, there is a clear difference in the discourse between the underlying assumption and the espoused values. The espoused values and artefacts that express this assumption take a positive and optimistic discourse that focus on what Tinkuy can do to change this state in society. However, this discourse does not address or articulate the problem in the first place, which means that members have a difficult time explaining or defining what they think is wrong. To an outsider, this presents the idea that nothing is wrong and obscures the fact that Tinkuy exists as a counter reaction and resistance to these trends.

While both assumption and espoused values work towards the same goal, the difference in discourse could potentially create some confusion and issues in the long run. At the moment, the two exist in harmony but as new members join Tinkuy and meaning and vision for the future is renegotiated, a conflict might arise between the aspects of Tinkuy concerned with self-realisation, personal growth, and socialising and the features that deal directly with improving society.

Spirituality and Inner Balance

The search for spirituality is closely tied to the collective and social aspects of Tinkuy, allowing members to find affirmation, support, intimacy, and trust in one another. This way, members create synergies, generate meaning, and achieve greater spiritual results than what would be possible on their own. This assumption is connected to and highly consistent with the espoused value A Collective Search for the Spiritual Self. Members continuously state the importance of spirituality in their lives and live up to this statement by engaging in a continuous practice of self-realisation. As such, there is coherence between what they think they do and what they actually do. This consistency enhances and strengthens the culture in Tinkuy as members gradually discover a genuineness between what is said and what is done, and therefore experience no dissonance. There is consensus about the right way for people to act and behave both individually and collectively, which is a key dimension in understanding an organisation's underlying assumptions (Schein, 2004).

Finally, the understanding of how personal development must happen from the inside and out extends to Tinkuy's societal view and thus connects to the underlying assumption of a Society in Distress. It governs how Tinkuy seeks to manifest changes in society by first realising themselves as

individuals and then creating a community, which demonstrates that these values and ways of inter-acting are feasible. They seek to gradually transfer these changes to society as opposed to imposing changes top-down through political or governmental interventions.

Follow the Leader

This underlying assumption is quite tricky to observe and describes the intangible and indirect sur-render of power and decision making to a few select members. Tinkuy is a social tribe where value, community feeling, and the physical objects, art, and food are co-created. The members in Tinkuy feel as if they are part of the tribe; that they influence the decisions and everyone is equal. However, this feeling is rooted in the narrative of equality and co-decision that surrounds only the daily func-tionality. Members feel a collective responsibility for the tribe and each other but seem willing to let Johan set the tone and be the inspiration for the vision and future of Tinkuy. It is Johan and a few others who initiated both New Circle Movement and Tinkuy; these are the same members who at-tend the Tinkuy Council and general assembly with very little involvement from the general mem-bers. They have every right and opportunity to participate but trust in Johan to have the best inter-ests of Tinkuy in mind.

This creates a discrepancy between what members in Tinkuy say and perceive they do and what they actually do. However, this inconsistency between underlying assumption and the espoused value regarding equality in Co-created Community seems to be somewhat in balance. Members tell a story of equal participation but at the same time willingly surrender their democratic power to a certain degree. They do so because they trust in Johan's ability to lead, and do not feel left out as they always possess the opportunity to engage in and influence the decision making in Tinkuy. This could become an issue as Tinkuy expands and attracts new members; these will not have the same history and relationship with Johan, why they might question and resist his influence in Tinkuy.

Identity

Having analysed the culture in Tinkuy, we are now ready to relate this culture to the identity of the tribe through Hatch and Schultz' (2002) framework for understanding the interplay between culture and identity.

Tinkuy's organisational 'me' results when members of Tinkuy mirror the set of views on the organ-isation held by those who act as Tinkuy's others. These others' impressions of what Tinkuy is, is in turn affected by the identity that members of Tinkuy express. This means that members to an extent

mirror the identity that they have expressed themselves. With this in mind, we accept Dutton and Dukerich's (1991) definition of organisational image as what members of Tinkuy believe others see as distinctive about the tribe. In other words, what they say and perceive they do in Tinkuy. This concept comes very close to Schein's espoused values, which can now be used as an expression of image to understand the identity processes in Tinkuy.

On the other hand, Tinkuy's organisational 'I' results from members reflecting upon the mirrored images and self-perceptions, which are interpreted in relation to Tinkuy's self-definition and embedded in their underlying assumptions. This in turn allows Tinkuy to express its tribal culture through artefacts and identity claims which can be interpreted as Tinkuy's collective identity (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). In other words, we can understand Tinkuy's 'I' as their deep patterns of organisational assumptions, which Schein calls underlying assumptions.

As such, identity can be understood in the interplay between image and culture, or as we understand it, the consistencies or inconsistencies between the espoused values and underlying assumptions. Through our analysis of the culture in Tinkuy, we found consistency between the espoused values and underlying assumptions regarding the search for spirituality as well as partial harmony between 'A Society in Distress' and 'Changing Society for the Better' as different discourses exist on each level, which could potentially cause issues. Furthermore, an inconsistency exists between the underlying assumption 'Follow the Leader' and the espoused value 'A Co-created Community' as the community articulates a desire for equality, but surrenders democratic power to a select few.

Overall, Tinkuy has a strong identity rooted in a collective search for spiritual balance and a better society. It is a social tribe that works as a playground in which members can become part of something larger than themselves.

Despite the evident inconsistencies, Johan is able to share his vision and influence members to participate in the negotiation of meaning in the tribe. As members integrate in the tribe, their values and behaviours align with those of the older members and Johan. They view it is a dynamic, participatory and self-developing process of collectively co-creating the tribe and a better society. Tinkuy symbolises and manifests a growing desire in society: a search for co-created collectivity, spirituality and meaning.

Implications for Brand Management

As a brand manager, it is paramount to understand the culture, values and identity of the community you are trying establish a supportive relationship or partnership with. Consumer tribes are social entities driven by passion, and they require a unique, relational and participatory approach that cannot be generalised across consumer tribes. Managers tend to conflate consumer tribes with brand communities which results in static and deliberative strategies that do not match the playful, passionate, and dynamic nature of a tribe like Tinkuy (Canniford, 2011).

Tribes provide opportunities for brands to form symbiotic relations with consumers driven by collective passion (Cova & Cova, 2002). When members meet and interact in Tinkuy, they take a step out of the role as individual consumers and instead embark on a quest for collective But what happens when those tribe members are not consumers in a traditional sense? emancipation and shared passion. Marketers who can understand the structure, ethos and culture of a tribe as Tinkuy can profit from supporting it in socialising new members, facilitate communication, and support events and tribal experiences.

Tinkuy is a social tribe that values collectivity above all else. People may seek different goals and paths but it is within the boundaries of the tribe that they experiment and are able to grow. A brand should therefore communicate and cooperate with groups or factions within the tribe that share passion or interest for certain activities or practises that the brand can assist in facilitating. Certain members in Tinkuy focus mostly on yoga and meditation, others on the social life, while a third group comes mainly for the experimental and alternative classes and events. While members may have different paths, they all search for collective spirituality to certain degrees. A supportive brand must remain open and embrace alternative ideas, faiths and beliefs. If the brand can prove to the tribe that they are willing to facilitate the playful and experimentational, it is one of the most important steps for creating a bond with the tribe. They must view and accept the brand as fully integrated in the tribe before trust can be established and network effect accomplished.

We have found that the Johan's role as Chief is essential for the daily management and sustenance of the norms, vision and values in Tinkuy. Members look up to him as a founding figure of Tinkuy, and call upon him for guidance or comfort when things get rough. Contacting Johan and using him

as a point of entrance to the tribe seems paramount to any brand who wishes to engage in a meaningful way with Tinkuy. Winning the trust and aligning the brand's intention and goals with that of Johan's would be an important step for spreading these attitudes to the rest of the Tinkuy.

To the members in Tinkuy, co-creation is essential on a human level. Marketers represent a brand and a corporation, and there exists certain elements of anti-branding attitudes and distrust towards the commercial in Tinkuy. As a brand representative you must break through these barriers while staying non-intrusive and respecting the existing values. It is important not to adopt a status of non-participatory observer, but rather seek emotional involvement to understand and experience how the meaning embedded in the rituals of self realisation and mindfulness is transferred and re-negotiated among the members to make sense on a collective level.

This means that a brand cannot stay supportive without actively joining the tribe and its rituals, classes and social life. To do this, the brand must have representatives join the tribe and balance his or her role as both employee with an agenda and an equal member in Tinkuy exploring the universe of tribe. The presence of a brand representative would be acceptable only if the exploitative motive and manipulative outcomes of the market are absent.

Brands could use their knowledge and presence in society to gather people around topics and events that are appreciated in Tinkuy. While the members are loyal to Tinkuy, they encourage interaction with society, other communities, and clubs with similar passions. Furthermore, the brand could use its resources to attract spokespersons or important personas in fields of meditation, yoga, or spirituality to create events or workshops in Tinkuy or in cooperation with other communities.

The state of society is very important to Tinkuy and is expressed in their espoused values and subconsciously in their underlying assumption. Both the environmental impact and the way current work structures constrain and limit people's freedom and flexibility. A supportive brand must give the members in Tinkuy purpose and commit to facilitate a contribution to society, not as a donation, but through their work and initiatives with Tinkuy. They should seek to enhance the effort that Tinkuy is already doing, but also provide new ideas and resources to co-create initiatives that would not have been possible for Tinkuy alone.

Seeking invitation and acceptance into Tinkuy means that a brand must surrender control over its relation to the tribe. The aim is not to control the process but facilitate it on the tribe's terms. This

reduces the distance between the sphere of the market and the sphere of society, but to reach authentic interaction the brand must adopt certain norms and values of the tribe. Authentic heart warmth has shown itself to be part of Tinkuy's espoused values, and a brand must be able to exhibit open and trustworthy behaviour before they can be accepted by the tribe members. This means that the brand should be open about its intentions and goals from the beginning, and understand that certain initiatives or strategies may conflict with the values and beliefs of Tinkuy's members. This can be overcome through inclusive dialogue and negotiation, if the brand is true to the tribe's values and willing to adjust to an approach more aligned with Tinkuy's vision.

A supportive brand does not only have the opportunity to create meaningful and valuable experiences with the tribe. A thorough and in-depth understanding of the underlying culture and identity will allow them to enforce the consistencies between the underlying assumptions and espoused values regarding the collective search for the spiritual, as well as defend and strengthen the tribe against certain issues regarding inconsistencies between the notions of equality and seemingly ease with which members allow Johan and other important members to influence and direct the vision for Tinkuy. This is especially important as Tinkuy attracts new members and grows larger and ever more complex and diverse.

The idea is not to foster a brand community but a tribe supported by a brand. This goes both ways in that the tribe also can support the brand. The tribe can be considered a collective actor within certain networks beneficial to the brand. The tribe members of Tinkuy can help co-create experiences or competencies in a network with the brand to other consumers with similar desires and values regarding spirituality and self-realisation. These members are a gateway for the brand into a world they could not possibly understand on their own, and through their collective expertise, they can learn from each other and fulfil a shared vision (Ibid.).

To successfully support a consumer tribe it is essential to abandon traditional approaches and make the first move towards the tribe with a non-market mind-set with a purely societal anchoring. No generic approach can be prescribed for establishing a mutually supportive relationship with a tribe. Instead, brands must concede control over the relationship and meet the tribe on equal footing as any other member of the tribe. The brand should asses if certain membership roles can be leveraged as a point of entry to the tribe, similar to how Johan's role affects and influences members in Tinkuy.

To build trust and gain respect, the brand must understand and acknowledge the culture and identity

of the tribe. Establishing and aligning value complementarities between the tribe's specific espoused values and underlying assumptions and the brand's own culture, the gap between the two organisational identities can be bridged. This way, the brand can take the first steps in the societal domain in relation with tribe to facilitate the manifestation and achievement of the tribe's vision, and then return to the market domain with the support of the tribe to accomplish shared goals. Tribes are diverse and complex, and brands can create lasting value with tribes by realising how to insert their support and resources into the existing tribal platform to facilitate the various passions, dreams, and rituals that members live out in their search for collective meaning.

Discussion

In our endeavour to explore what potential trends Tinkuy might express in society, we draw upon Kozinets' (2002) investigation of the Burning Man festival, which is a week-long antimarket event situated in the desert of Nevada. Participants in this event seek emancipation from totalising market logics while exploring alternative exchange and consumption practices. To grasp the communital desire to escape the market mechanisms, it is important to understand the contrast between community and market.

The ideal community is characterised by people living in close proximity based on caring, sharing, and a sense of belonging, while the ideal market is formal and contractual with socially distanced relationships based on transactions with the purpose of monitising exchanges and extracting excess value (Ibid). In other words, ideal communities focus on social caring and sharing among insiders, while ideal markets focus on transacting with outsiders.

Based on its strong social ties and collective spirit, it is our contention that Tinkuy resembles an ideal community. The caring and sharing among Tinkuy's insiders are evident in its co-created rituals, yoga, and meditation classes, and particularly in the socialising and exchange of experiences that follow. The resistance towards brands and capitalist market logics in Tinkuy parallel those of participants in the Burning Man festival, who also seek emancipation through experimenting with alternative approaches to consumption.

To explain the longing for emancipation in the Burning Man community, Kozinets (2002) draws on a hypothesisation that markets homogenise individual consumers and suppress their self-expressive capabilities. This way, market influences make consumers' everyday lives passive and less diverse

as it constrains their creative roles and identities while enforcing certain views of reality that limit their human freedom.

These feelings seem to be present in Tinkuy, and are especially evident in the underlying assumption 'A Society in Distress' in which members express discontent with the psychological distress and unhappiness caused by the current market conditions. Practically, the defiance of market forces is exhibited by anti-brand attitudes and the limited meaning and value ascribed to brands, and the focus instead resides in the attributes of product and service. Both ways, consumers resist brands' role as providers of meaning, seeking to take charge of the consumption and creation of meaning in their lives. In Tinkuy, meaning is intended to be co-created between people in a collective setting rather than superimposed by multinational corporations or other expressions of totalising market mechanisms.

Firat and Dholakia (1998, in Kozinets, 2002) theorised that emancipation can be found in communal, performative, self-expressive "alternative life mode communities" which maintain "an autonomy from the mainstream market culture". Kozinets found Burning Man to adhere to this description and be able to, at least temporarily, emancipate its community members from efficient and rational market logics. Similarly, we allege that Tinkuy is an "alternative life mode community" which provides an escape from totalising market logics into collective social logics through its communal, performative, and self-expressive characteristics. Despite Tinkuy members' necessity to consume outside the tribe, we believe that the escape from market logics is less temporary than that of the one-week Burning Man festival, as Tinkuy constitutes an integral part of members' everyday life. Members shift in and out between social and market spheres which impacts their routines and mind-sets more frequently but does not reach the feeling of intense but temporary emancipation of Burning Man.

While Tinkuy exists as a modern manifestation of the yearning for the re-emergence of the emancipatory collectivity, it remains unsure whether this is a unique incidence or a rising movement in society. If Tinkuy is but one of many social tribes where people seek collective meaning within community boundaries, then we have moved beyond understanding the individual as a consuming self and can instead understand her as seeking collective identity not through shared consumption but through co-created meaning and belonging in tribes.

In Copenhagen there is a growing trend, where community kitchens arrange communal dinners in which a large number of people sit at long tables and connect over an affordable meal. The long tables facilitate interaction and socialising between friends and strangers in a simple, down-to-earth setting. Most of the dinners are organised by volunteers and explicitly articulate that the food served is organic and that there are vegetarian or vegan options available. Participants face no attachments or expectations, they attend as many or as few dinners as they see fit (Frederiksen, 2017).

These recurring events create small communities that facilitate collectivity and emancipation from a work life governed by market logics. They provide social interaction and connection over dinner for affordable prices made possible by voluntary work and low profits. But these communities are on the edge between the market and society and are hybrid in their nature. They are contested as the ethos of collective sharing and socialising battle the rational logic of the commercial exchange that must occur for these projects to remain sustainable. Like Burning Man, communal dinners exhibit traits of the hypercommunity as they are coordinated, temporary but social and sharing in nature, while promising an intense but momentary community experience. The fleeting nature of these events provides participants with a sense of authenticity that evades corporate appropriation and a priceless and inimitable moment that creates collective meaning not despite of its temporality but because of it (Kozinets, 2002). It seems that participants in both Burning Man and the communal dinners seek collective formation of meaning as a temporal reprieve. While both short-lived events, the communal dinners pop up in different locations, where Burning Man has sharply marked boundaries both in time and space. This provides Burning Man with safe and familiar boundaries where emancipatory activities can unfold and the communal dinners with new surroundings and experiences for each dinner.

Tinkuy provides their members with both physical and lasting boundaries. The tribal members also seek collective meaning and emancipation from market influences, but through spiritual balance and heart warmth. However, this collective search for meaning is a lasting journey taking place in Tinkuy's tribal home and does not share temporality or ephemeral confinements with the communal dinners. The participants in communal dinners gather around shared consumption and socialising, where members of Tinkuy gather around shared spiritual passions and intimacy in search for higher meaning not rooted in traditional consumption. It seems like certain dualities affect the individual's search for collective meaning: on one hand, shared consumption and transactional interaction versus non-consumptional passion and relational interaction. On the other hand, temporal experience in

ephemeral settings versus lasting and stable belonging within confined physical boundaries. This creates new opportunities and challenges for how these gatherings should organise and facilitate the re-emergence of the search for collective identity and meaning, and brands and marketers need to rethink how to address this desire and insert their support and resources into these different tribal platforms. Lastly, it challenges the contemporary understanding of the individual as a consuming self and proposes the emergence of the autotelically socialising tribe member in search for collective meaning.

Conclusion

This study set out to explore how Tinkuy as a non-brand focused tribe can be understood as a marketplace community and to which extent culture can explain how consumers form identity. Tinkuy is a tribe with deep social roots and a collective vision for rebalancing society and the people who live in it. There is a firm belief that self-realisation and mindfulness is the first step on the path to a more collective level of enlightenment, and members in Tinkuy experiment with different tools, techniques and beliefs within yoga, meditation and spirituality to achieve this goal.

In Tinkuy, the rituals and traditions facilitate a link between the individual and tribe on collective journey towards self-awareness. Most members join Tinkuy to practise yoga and meditation but as they integrate in the tribe they discover how the experimental activities and social life provide new opportunities for self-realisation. At the same time, Tinkuy is a very social community where members are close to each other both physically and emotionally. There is a high level of trust among members, and everyone feels welcome and appreciated in the diverse and co-created family of Tinkuy.

Tinkuy and its members exhibit certain traits that shape how they understand and relate to their surroundings. The tribal members have built a green narrative in which sustainability, vegetarianism, and ecology unfold as a symbol of what Tinkuy wants to accomplish in society. There exists a resistance towards the current direction of society and its impact on the physical and psychological environment. This is expressed as an opposition against overconsumption and corporate brands.

Members share a feeling that something is missing in society, and that people constrained by a sense of collective aimlessness. Tinkuy gives its members purpose and provides a shared vision for re-establishing balance in society and the self. This vision is in part shaped by Johan who is one of the founding members of the tribe. Tinkuy has many member types, and the Chief, Johan, plays a

significant role for Tinkuy's continued existence. Members relate differently to the group identity; some have an inductive, bottom-up process through which they influence the group, and others have a deductive top-down process through which superordinate group properties, values, and norms are applied to the self.

The intensity of the social relations means more than the centrality of tribal activities to self. In Tinkuy you cannot refer to consumption activities but instead tribal activities that let the members experiment with different forms of self-realisation. Most of Tinkuy's activities, social life, and vision exist on the invisible axis of Cova and Cova's (2002) tribal clover, meaning that the essence of Tinkuy's collective spirit is comprised of intangible elements and values that can be hard to comprehend for an outsider.

Tinkuy shares certain traits with both the brand community and the brand public but clearly has the highest resemblance with the consumer tribe. Despite relying on a central leadership to a certain degree, Tinkuy acts as a collective counterpower to society, gathers around non-rational elements and participates in a process of re-enchanting the world. However, Tinkuy does not exist to facilitate shared consumption, but manifests a vision for changing society by rediscovering a collective self through experimentation, spirituality and rituals of intimate socialising. Interestingly, this means that Tinkuy can be viewed not as a consumer tribe but rather a social tribe where consumption in a traditional sense is absent.

The road to understanding the core of Tinkuy's culture goes through three levels of analysis. It initiates with the superficial and visible artefacts, then moves to the espoused values and concludes at the deep and subconscious level of the underlying assumptions.

The espoused values Heart Warmth and Changing Society for the Better are mostly consistent with the underlying assumption A Society in Distress. However, the difference in the discourse between espoused value and underlying assumption could potentially create some confusion and issues as Tinkuy expands and attracts new members.
The value Collective Search for the Spiritual Self is highly consistent with the underlying assumption Spirituality and Inner Balance, which involves how collective self-realisation and believing in something bigger than ourselves may provide comfort and guidance.
A Co-created Community is inconsistent with the underlying assumption Follow the Leader, as members tell a story of equal participation but at the same time willingly surrender their democratic

power to Johan. However, if members feel included and Johan's values and vison are aligned with their own, the inconsistency need not cause cultural dysfunctionality.

Tinkuy's identity can be understood in the interplay between the consistencies or inconsistencies between the espoused values and underlying assumptions. Despite partial inconsistencies, Tinkuy has a strong identity rooted in a collective search for spiritual balance and a better society. As long as members willingly surrender decision power in a participatory process and new members successfully come to share values and underlying assumptions, the values and assumption can remain harmonious and the tribal culture in balance.

To build trust and gain respect, a brand must understand and acknowledge the culture and identity of the tribe. Establishing and aligning value complementarities between the tribe's specific espoused values and underlying assumptions and the brand's own culture, the gap between the two organisational identities can be bridged. Marketers represent a brand and a corporation, and there exists certain elements of anti-branding attitudes and distrust towards the commercial in Tinkuy. Seeking invitation and acceptance into Tinkuy means that a brand must surrender control over its relation to the tribe and realise how to insert their support and resources into the existing tribal platform.

While Tinkuy exists as a modern manifestation of the yearning for the re-emergence of the emancipatory collectivity, it remains unsure whether this is a unique incidence or a rising movement in society. We discuss important dualities and their effect on the individual's search for collective meaning: on one hand, shared consumption and transactional interaction versus non-consumptional passion and relational interaction. On the other hand, temporal experience in ephemeral settings versus lasting and stable belonging within confined physical boundaries. This allows us to move beyond an understanding of the individual as a consuming self and instead understand her as seeking collective identity not through shared consumption but through co-created meaning and belonging in tribes.

Reference List

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B. S. (2000). Social structure. *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*.

Alvesson, M., & Sköldberg, K. (2017). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. Sage.

Arnould, E. J., & Price, L. L. (1993). River magic: Extraordinary experience and the extended service encounter. *Journal of consumer Research*, *20*(1), 24-45.

Arvidsson, A., & Caliandro, A. (2015). Brand public. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *42*(5), 727-748.

Belk, R. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of consumer research*, *15*(2), 139-168.

Belk, R. (2014). You are what you can access: Sharing and collaborative consumption online. *Journal of Business Research, 67*(8), 1595-1600.

Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2015). *Business research methods*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Buchanan, D., Boddy, D., and McCalman, J. (1986). *Getting in, getting on, getting out, getting back*. 1st ed. University of Glasgow Department of Management Studies

Carreon, N. (2018). Personal Interview. March 7.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative research*. Sage Publications Ltd, London.

Canniford, R. (2011) How to manage consumer tribes, *Journal of Strategic Marketing*, 19:7, 591-606.

Cova, B., & Cova, V. (2001). Tribal aspects of postmodern consumption research: The case of French in-line roller skaters. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour, 1*(1), 67-76.

Cova, B., & Cova, V. (2002). Tribal marketing: The tribalisation of society and its impact on the conduct of marketing. *European journal of marketing*, *36*(5/6), 595-620.

Dernje, J. (2018). Personal Interview. March 2.

Dutton, J. E., & Dukerich, J. M. (1991). Keeping an eye on the mirror: Image and identity in organizational adaptation. *Academy of management journal*, *34*(3), 517-554.

Frederiksen, C. (2017). *Din guide til 5 folkekøkkener i København.* Sustain Daily. [Online] https://sustaindaily.dk/mad/cafe-restaurant/din-guide-5-folkekoekkener-koebenhavn/ [Accessed 09/05/2018]

Frederiksen, J. T. (2018). Personal Interview. March 13.

Frederiksen, J. T. (2018b). Personal Interview. April 24.

Gans, H. J. (1968). The participant observer as a human being: Observations on the personal aspects of fieldwork. *Institutions and the Person*, *304*.

Gydsbæk, F. (2018). Personal Interview. March 6.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (2000). Scaling the tower of Babel: Relational Differences Between Identity, Land Culture in Organizations. In *The third conference on corporate reputation and competitiveness. January 1999* (pp. 11-35). Oxford University Press.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (2002). The dynamics of organizational identity. *Human relations*, *55*(8), 989-1018.

Jenkins, R. (1996). *Social identity.* London: Routledge

Kornum, N., Gyrd-Jones, R., Al Zagir, N., & Brandis, K. A. (2017). Interplay between intended brand identity and identities in a Nike related brand community: Co-existing synergies and tensions in a nested system. *Journal of Business Research*, *70*, 432-440.

Kozinets, R. V. (1999). E-tribalized marketing?: The strategic implications of virtual communities of consumption. *European Management Journal, 17*(3), 252-264.

Kozinets, R. V. (2002). Can consumers escape the market? Emancipatory illuminations from burning man. *Journal of Consumer research*, *29*(1), 20-38.

Kvale, S. (1996). InterViews: *An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

McAlexander, J. H., & Schouten, J. W. (1998). Brandfests: Servicescapes for the cultivation of brand equity. *Servicescapes: The concept of place in contemporary markets, 377*.

McAlexander, J. H., Schouten, J. W., & Koenig, H. F. (2002). Building brand community. *Journal of marketing*, *66*(1), 38-54.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self and society* (Vol. 111). University of Chicago Press.: Chicago.

Merz, M. A., He, Y., & Vargo, S. L. (2009). The evolving brand logic: a service-dominant logic perspective. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *37*(3), 328-344.

Mitchell, C., & Imrie, B. C. (2011). Consumer tribes: membership, consumption and building loyalty. *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics, 23*(1), 39-56.

Muniz, A. M., & O'Guinn, T. C. (2001). Brand community. *Journal of consumer research*, *27*(4), 412-432

Nielsen, D. (2018). Personal Interview. April 27.

Oliver, R. L. (1999). Whence consumer loyalty? t*he Journal of Marketing*, 33-44.

Postmes, T., Spears, R., Lee, A. T., & Novak, R. J. (2005). Individuality and social influence in groups: Inductive and deductive routes to group identity. Journal of personality and social psychology, 89(5), 747.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2009), *Research methods for business students*, 5th edition, Pearson Education Limited, England.

Schein, E. H. (2004). *Organizational Culture and Leadership* (Jossey-Bass business & management series). Jossey Bass Incorporated.

Schouten, J. W., & McAlexander, J. H. (1995). Subcultures of consumption: An ethnography of the new bikers. *Journal of consumer research*, *22*(1), 43-61.

Schultz, M. (1990). Kultur i organisationer. København: Handelshøjskolens Forlag.

Silva, S. C., & Santos, M. C. D. (2012). How to capitalise on a tribe. *The Marketing Review*, *12*(4), 419-436.

Tinkuy (2018). *Aktiviteter*. [Online] https://www.tinkuy.dk/events [Accessed 09/05/2018]

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., & Sechrest, L. (1966). *Unobtrusive measures: Nonreactive research in the social sciences* (Vol. 111). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Østergaard, P. & Jantzen, C. (2001). Shifting Perspectives in Consumer Research. *Interpretive Consumer Research*, 9–23.
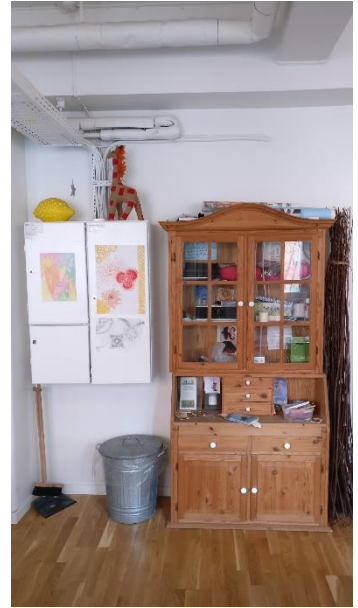
Appendices

Appendix 1 - Pictures from Tinkuy
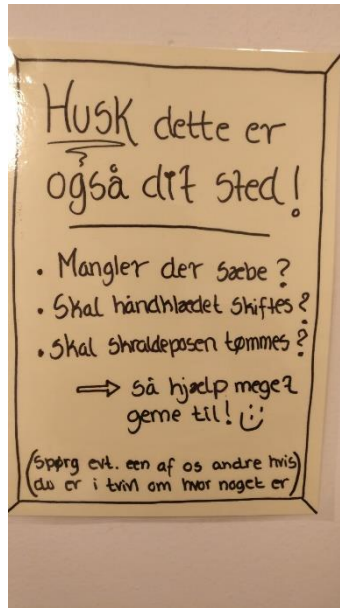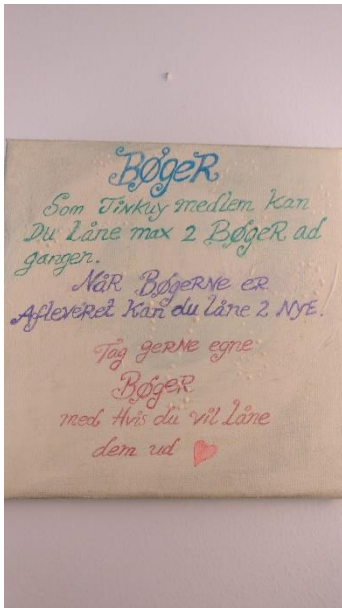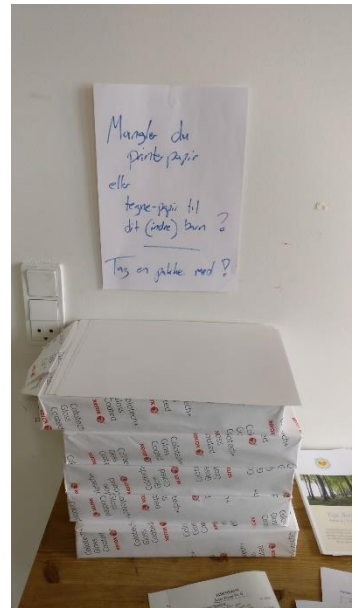
Appendix 2 - Interviews in Danish

Johan -13.03.18

OLIVER: så kører vi. Fedt. Hvis du kan fortælle hvad dit navn er og hvor gammel du er.

JOHAN: Jeg hedder Johan Tino Frederiksen og jeg er 43

OLIVER: yes. Smukt. Og hvor længe har du været hernede i Tinkuy

JOHAN: Jamen altså jeg har været med helt fra opstarten. Vi startede i oktober 2014 i nabolokalet her. Og så 14. november startede vi. Så det er 3 ½ år.

OLIVER: Og du har været daglig leder fra starten?

JOHAN: jah. Vi har været to daglige leder. Mig som har været her mest og så Tanja som har været her en gang i mellem

OLIVER: Hvis du skulle prøve at beskrive hvad er Tinkuy for dig?

JOHAN: Det er et.. Får ordet blød bobbel. Det er ord har jeg ikke brugt før, men altså. Det er sådant et fællesskab man kan længe sig lidt ind i. Og et trygt sted hvor man så også. Hvor man kan finde sine fødder.

FREDERIK: Og hvis du skulle fortælle en der **aldrig** havde været her før, hvordan ville du så beskrive det

JOHAN: Så er det at vi bruger det her udtryk spirituelt fitnesscenter hvor aktiviteterne er yoga og meditation. Det er dans og bevægelse. Der er en åbenhed for hvad er det medlemmerne gerne selv byde ind med. Det kan være en danseaktivitet eller et foredrag eller en kakaoceremoni eller hvad det nu her.

FREDERIK: Nu sagde du at du var daglig leder. Deltager du selv i nogle af disse aktiviteter.

JOHAN: Ja, jeg har en sådan en fast praksis med morgenmeditation kl 7 og som regel morgenyoga kl 8. og onsdag kl 10 er der noget styrketræning jeg deltager i. Så det er sådan min faste ugentlige praksis. Og så er der ellers bolsjerne med kakaoceremoni fredag aften. Gentle touch lørdag aften. Og det er ikke hver weekend at jeg når at være med til det. Men det er i hvert fald en gang om måneden.

FREDERIK: Er du instruktør for nogle classes?

JOHAN: nej, det er jeg ikke

OLIVER: Hvordan du synes du din rolle som daglig leder påvirker dit forhold til andre hernede

JOHAN: godt spørgsmål. Ideelt så påvirker det ikke. Men det har en.. Det er tit mig som har taget imod nye medlemmer og mødt dem første gang. Vist dem rundt og.. så der er sådan en.. Hvis det er et nyt medlem der skal finde ud hvad er det her for et sted, så er det tit mig der har en eller anden rolle, måske ikke direkte, men der er en eller anden energi der er rettet mod mig.

OLIVER: Det er dig de går til?

JOHAN: ja, der er ligesom på ene eller anden måde fokus. Det er jo funktionen så det er helt naturligt. Spørgsmålet var hvordan min relation til andre er påvirket af at være daglig leder?

OLIVER: Det var til de nye, hvad med dem der har været her i længere tid?

JOHAN: jeg har mange møder hernede: samtaler hvor det er fra ven til ven – altså venskabelige samtaler, hvor der ikke er den der rolle med i det. Men den ligger der alligevel på en eller anden måde. Jeg er meget bevidst om at der er noget vi vil med det her sted. Lige fra morgenmeditation fra starten. Der er en retning og en vision for stedet. Og det har jeg med mig i løbet af dagen. Også i de afslappede og hyggelige møder.

FREDERIK: Hvad er den vision?

JOHAN: altså det er en vision om en anden måde at være sammen på. Hvor vi interagere fra hjertet og på en tillidsbaseret måde at møde hinanden på. Åbenhed og ærlighed. Hvor man har en kontakt til sig selv hvor man kan sige til og fra.

FREDERIK: Du nævnte at du havde været med til at starte Tinkuy op. Hvordan foregik den proces?

JOHAN: jah, rent handlingsmæssigt, så foregik det på den måde at jeg fik inspiration da jeg så der var et ledigt lejemål her i København og så tænkte jeg det er her vi skal lave det her stad. Så skrev jeg nogle ting ned på fire a4 sider. Så dagen efter skulle jeg af sted på en spirituel festival i Sverige. Så tog jeg de papirer med. Så gik vi.. når jeg siger vi så er det fordi der var hurtigt en interesse for det. Jeg fortalte det til andre mennesker.

FREDERIK: Dine venner?

JOHAN:ja, det var dem jeg kendte på festivalen, og også nogle jeg ikke havde mødt før som var nysgerrige på det. Det var faktisk på den festival at det startede. Frøet blev plantet

FREDERIK: Og hvordan fik du oprindelig ideent?

JOHAN: Altså, jeg tænkte det her sådan lidt kollektive vision, kollektive.. Altså jeg tror menneskeheden i årtusinder har drømt paradis på jord. Det lyder stort og det er det også. Vi har en længsel efter noget der er muligt men som ikke helt er manifesteret i den omgangsform vi har. Så jeg tror det er en meget levende energi. Det er en vision som har en tiltrækningskræft som en gang i mellem inspirerer folk til at vågne og tænkte, hov hvad laver egentlig i mit 37 timers arbejde her. Og der kan komme en inspiration til noget andet. Og den inspiration fik jeg selv fik efterhånden mange år siden. December 2000. 17. december år 2000 kl halv otte om aftenen. I en undergrundsbane i new york. Så det er meget spøjst

OLIVER: Det er noget der står meget klart for dig?

JOHAN: Den oplevelse står klart for mig, hvor jeg vågner til 'nåh, det er det her jeg skal' Altså den fælles-menneskelige drøm er meget forbundet til spiritualitet, noget der er større end mig selv. For mig startede det der..

FREDERIK: Et mere praktisk spørgsmål. Hvordan fungerer at blive medlem?

JOHAN: Rent praktisk har vi åbent på hver nymåne. Vi tager nye medlemmer ind i community'et ved ny-måne. Og så er der åbent et stykke tid. Lige nu er det et døgn man kan blive medlem. Og så er der en knap på forsiden af hjemmesiden – grøn knap man trykker på og så følger man nogle instrukser. Og så betaler man med sit kreditkort eller en bankoverførsel.

OLIVER: så det er kun et vindue på 24 timer per måned?

JOHAN: ja, der kommer nye medlemmer ind. Der kommer måske 50 medlemmer nogen gange. Så det er der community'et får ny energi. Og så har man resten af måneden til at integrerer den energi og lige lande den.

FREDERIK: hvorfor har valgt kunne at tage folk ind der?

JOHAN: vi har valgt at det er en gang om måneden, for ligesom at.. de nye medlemmer skal ind på et eller andet tidspunkt. Vi kunne godt vælge at have åbne døre hele tiden idnetil vi havde noget maksimum antal af medlemmer. Men det her med stabiliteten af feltet, har gjort at vi har valgt et tidspunkt og det skulle være en gang om måneden. Og så har vi valgt nymånen for at følge den her naturlige.. Naturens rytmen. Månen på-virker os på forskellige måder.

OLIVER: oplever du nogle komplikationer forhold til nye medlemmer der ikke er opmærksomme på at de har det her vindue?

JOHAN: ja, vi har haft en lille flaskehals i forhold til at det er mig og en kammerat der har udviklet hjemme-siden og websystemet og jeg sidder ikke og opdaterer hjemmesiden, det er ham der gør det. Og han har travlt med andre ting. Så der har været en flaskehals der. OG det betyder for eksempel at beskrivelsen med hvor-dan man tilmelder sig ikke er fyldestgørende. Så det giver nogle spørgsmål og noget forvirring omkring 'er det overhovedet muligt at blive medlem.. Så der er helt klart forbedringsmuligheden.

FREDERIK: Hvis man bliver nyt medlem, får man så noget?

JOHAN: Man får 100 blommer om måneden for det første. Øh hvis du er basismedlem får du 100 blommer pr måned og komplet medlem 200 blommer pr måned. Og det er sådan en virtuel point man får. Det er dem mam bruger til de ressourcer man har i det her fællesskab.

FREDERIK: Hvordan fungerer de?

JOHAN: Konkret kan man se hvor mange man har når man logger ind. Så står det i øverste højre hjørne. Og hvis man vil booke et behandlerrum klikker man på den tid man gerne vil have. Det koster 50 blommer for de to timer. Og så har man to timer for at behandlerrum. Og så senere har vi planer om at det skal være sådan når man booker et plads på et hold. Andre ressourcer og ting man kan bruge, fripladser i weekenden.

FREDERIK: er det en form for valuta?

JOHAN: ja, det er en enhed der fordeler vores ressourcer på en retfærdig måde, der sikrer at det ikke er først til mølle, der får adgang til at alle ressourcerne.

FREDERIK: Kan man så tjene dem igen?

JOHAN: Man får dem hver måned

FREDERIK: ok, så det er ikke kun når man melder sig ind

JOHAN: det kommer en sådan en – spiren til en basis indkomst

OLIVER: lige nu er de fleste hold jo uden tilmelding i løbet af dagen og mange om aftenen også. Er det no-get i vil lave om med tilmeldinger med blommer eller hvordan?

JOHAN: min.. jeg har lige en tudse i halsen.. Jeg synes det er meget rart at der ikke er tilmelding. Altså at man ved man er en del af det her fællesskab, og ja, nu har jeg lyst til at deltage. Så møder du op og møder man måske en og drikker noget te med her i loungen i stedet for bare at tage ind på holdet. Det er ikke muligt

på alle hold, der er nogle ting hvor man skal gerne være 7-8 stykker fast. Nogle enkelte hold er meget fyldte så der er også bookning. Men eller de andre, det er. Fællesskabet har en størrelse så de kan være i rummet, alle dem der har lyst til det.

FREDERIK: Er der noget sådan.. Nu tænker jeg i sammenligning med andre communities eller organisationer. Er der noget bestemt tøj eller mærker man går i? Noget tinkuy tøj man går i?

JOHAN: Nej, det er der ikke. Det har vi heller ikke planer om.

FREDERIK: Så der ikke nogen måde at identificere, du er medlem ligesom mig

JOHAN: Nej, det er der ikke

FREDERIK: Er der nogen tanke bag det?

JOHAN: ja, det er en beslutning at der ikke er noget medlemskort osv. Det er et tillidsbaseret fællesskab. Det er en beslutning om at det er tillad der er den organiserende faktor. Og mangfoldighed. Vi er alle sammen forskllige. Og den forskellighed skal vi inkludere i fællesskab.

OLIVER: Når vi snakker om tøj, er der noget særlig karakteristika ved det tøj folk går i til hverdag?

JOHAN: Ja, jeg tror, nu har jeg skjorte på i dag. Tit har man ikke rigtig skjorte på. Nej, jeg vil sige der ikke nogen adskillelse. Jeg har levet i den her bobbel i tre et halvt år, så jeg ved ikke helt hvad der foregår derude. Så vil jeg skal sige det er der ikke.

OLIVER: Din rolle som daglig leder i forhold til de andre hernede. Hvordan er din opfattelse i forhold til om der mellem nye og gamle medlemmer. Om der er nogen form for status eller hierarki imellem dem.

JOHAN: Der er ikke noget hierarki. De medlemmer der har været her lang tid. Der er en velvillighed til at hjælpe nye medlemmer. Praktiske ting, hvor er fejekosten, hvis der ligger et eller andet der skal fejes op. Hvor er kaffekopperne. Hvordan gør man ting. Og så også at de medlemmer der har været her lang tid, har måske en tutor rolle med at de bare slapper af med at være her. Så når man kommer ind som ny og man ser, 'nå der er 8 mennesker der bare føler sig hjemme'. Så går der lige en halv times tid eller et eller andet og så falder man også til ro og betragter det som sit eget hjem. Så det er sådan via eksempel.

OLIVER: Så er det mere en videregivelse af normer i stedet for af sådan noget formelt?

JOHAN: ja. Er det en norm, det kan man så diskutere. Det er i hvert fald en måde at være på. Det er sådan en helt afslappet måde at være på.

FREDERIK: Er der nogen regler når man er her for hvordan man skal opføre sig? Noget man må gøre eller ikke må gøre?

JOHAN: Altså vi har en regel med at man ikke har sko på herinde. Og det er den eneste regel der er. I starten var jeg meget obs på at når vi sidder og arbejder, skriver e-mails i loungen i dagtimerne. Der havde jeg det sådan at der skal være sådan ro frem til kl 14-15 tiden. Det var også noget vi italesatte på Facebook gruppen og muligvis hænger der stadig en seddel ude på toilettet. Men det sådan lidt det er ikke nødvendigt mere.

FREDERIK: hvor meget betyder Tinkuy for dig?

JOHAN: Altså for mig er det et sted hvor jeg kan trække vejret. OG for mig represænterer det det samfund jeg har lyst til at være i. Så det betyder rigtig meget for mig.

FREDERIK: hvor meget tid bruger du i Tinkuy om ugen?

JOHAN: Rent fysisk er jeg er hernede mandag til torsdag 8-9 timer. Så det er sådan noget 35 timer jeg er her fysisk. SÅ når jeg er hjemme, er der mails, sms, facebook beskeder. Så det er flettet meget ind i min fritid også.

FREDERIK: Hvordan er dit sociale samvær med andre medlemmer?

JOHAN: Hvordan det sociale samvær er mellem medlemmer?

FREDERIK: Når man er uden for Tinkuy. Er der noget af det?

JOHAN: Jeg har oplevet at der er en genkendelighed. Nå, du er også medlem af Tinkuy. Så man har sådan en fælles referenceramme hertil. Jeg ved ikke helt hvordan det kommer til udtryk.

OLIVER: Navnet Tinkuy: hvor kommer det fra?

JOHAN: Det kommer fra Quechua i Sydamerika, og det betyder møde. Tingu betyder et møde og når man tilføjer y'et bliver det den aktive form.

OLIVER: En anden ting det er. Hvad er tankerne bag indretningen i Tinkuy?

JOHAN: Vi har de to store rum herinde, der er workshoprummet. Det er sådan zen artigt, hvide vægge og simpel indretning. Det der sker i det rum sker via de folk der kommer derind. Dem der faciliterer kan jo tage ting med ind i rummet og tage dem ud bagefter. Ingen forstyrrelser agtigt. Og så i det rum vi sidder i her. Det er spraglet. Det er mangfoldigt. Det er samskabt, hvor medlemmerne har fundet et oppusteligt tre-tal som

sidder over på væggen. En har båret et stativ til jakker derude halvvejs igennem København for at give os det. Et meget grimt stativ, så det har vi selvfølgelig sagt ja tak til. Står og pynter der. Mange af tingene er noget medlemmerne har lavet, og det betyder noget for dem og de har hængt det op, så det er plads til mangfoldighed.

OLIVER: er der nogen ting, mærker eller brands der har en særlig betydning? Alt fra ting i køkkenet, til stole og borde til..

JOHAN: jo, økologi og vegetarisk kost har en eller anden.. altså man kan sagtens sidde og spise en bøf hernede eller spise kød hernede. Men der et eller andet omkring vegetarisk kost.

OLIVER: hvad med sådan noget som sæbe og opvaskemiddel, som vi har set er fra samme mærke. Er der nogen tanke bag?

JOHAN: det må gerne fortsætte med at være det sammen. Det er Laurits, vores ildsjæl på det område, og som har købt en stor portion af det. Og det har været fint. Så helt klart at de produkter vi bruger er bæredygtige, økoligske og gode for naturen – gode for os.

OLIVER: Så hvis der var et andet brand af sæbe der var lige bæredygtigt og økologisk, kunne i godt bruge det?

JOHAN: ja. Teen derude er ikke økologisk, og nogen gange står der noget sæbe der ikke er økologisk. Men det er en retning vi har her.

FREDERIK: Er der nogen rytmer eller ritualer som på en eller anden måde gentager sig hernede?

JOHAN: der er en daglig rytme og en ugentlig rytme som er meget væsentlig for at inkarnere visionen, for at få visionen rodfæstet. Og det er at vi starter på en shiva måde og så slutter vi på en shakti måde. Shiva er meditation og yoga, struktur, tidligt op, disciplin kan man sige. Og sidst på dagen er det mere shakti energien, det bevægelige, det feminine, det mangfoldige, nydelse, det sanselige. Musik. Og de to ting. De er en forudsætning for hinanden. Og så er det tilsvarende den ugentlige rytme fra mandag til torsdag er der disciplin og så fredag, lørdag, søndag er det mere loose.

FREDERIK: Er der nogle mere specifikke ritualer med shakti du kan komme ind på?

JOHAN: Shakti vil sige.. sådan noget som en kakaoceremoni. Der er også dans som et ritual.

FREDERIK: hvad med i selve timerne? Er der nogen måde man går ind til timerne på. Eller noget man altid gør?

JOHAN: der er en tradition for at der er en cirkel. Man slutter tit i en cirkel, sidder i en cirkel, står i en cirkel. Nogen gange starter man også i en cirkel.

FREDERIK: med henblik på?

JOHAN: der er noget praktisk i det. Man kan se hinanden. Man er i øjenhøjde. Det her gør vi sammen. Samskabelse er en vigtig værdig. Det er et symbol på fælleskabet.

FREDERIK: er der nogen ritualer i det sociale, herude i rummet?

JOHAN: den her med, skal vi drikke en kop te? Det er et ritual. Så ved. Siger man ja til det så siger man ja til en samtale der tager en halv til en hel time. Det er et ritual.

FREDERIK: er der nogen redskaber eller mere fysiske ting der har en betydning hernede?

JOHAN: ja. Vi har noget der betyder meget. Det er såmen selve essensen. Det er en gave fra Martin fra Sverige. En talestok. Den bliver taget frem ved særlige lejligheder. Tinkuy Counsel og nogen bruger den i deres workshops og til meditations.

FREDERIK: Til hvad?

JOHAN: jamen det er en talestok. SÅ når man har talestokken så taler man og de andre lytter. Og når man er færdig med at tale så lægger man den. Og så er der alt muligt. En tanke om at der kommer en særlig energi igennem når man sidder med den her. Det har meget med intention at gøre. Fysiske ting kan godt være befordrende for det. Så er malerierne efterhånden også begyndt at betyde noget for os.

OLIVER: og hvor kommer de fra?

JOHAN: de er malet af Tore Nødegaard som startede med at udstille dem hernede og så købte vi dem senere. De er ligsom blevet et symbol på Tinkuy, når man ser billeder hernedefra så er det dem der er i baggrunden.

FREDERIK: Hvordan er det med den online del af Tinkuy? Findes den?

JOHAN: vi har en facebook gruppe, faktisk to grupper.Der er en gruppe kun for medlemmer, hvor man kan dele hvad man har på hjertet der.

FREDERIK: hvad bliver der delt

JOHAN: tit er det om aktiviteter hernede. Det er også tit hvis man har udfordringer af en eller anden karakter. Inspirationer.

FREDERIK: og den anden gruppe?

JOHAN: det er den offentlige gruppe. En form for reklamesøjle, hvor undervisere kan slå deres events op.

OLIVER: har i andre tiltage for reklamer?

JOHAN: VI har været på en messe sidste år. Mystikkens Univers messen. Ellers vores webside. Det vigtigste er community'et hvor man fortæller om det til dem man kender

O så mund til mund metoden er den bærende kommunikationsform?

JOHAN: ja

FREDERIK: Har i nogle samarbejdspartnere?

JOHAN: uformelle samarbejdspartnere. Der er en del communities der arbejder inden for samme område. Acroyoga, dansefælleskaber. Der er ikke noget organiseret samarbejde. De kommer hernede og bruger vores lokaler og når de laver noget er der tit Tinkuy medlemmer med.

OLIVER: hvad med yogamåtter. Der kom nogle nye til for nyligt.

JOHAN: ja, det var tiltrængt

OLIVER: hvad var overvejelserne bag da der skulle købes nye?

JOHAN: der har været en bevidst beslutning om ikke at købe for mange ting, helt ned til fyrfadslys. Det har haft en væsentlig sammenspillende virkning at medlemmer selv har taget ting med. Nogle har fyrfadslys med, nogle har stole med. Man kommer herned og 'den stol har jeg haft med. Den yogamåtte har jeg doneret'. Det der med at det er medlemmernes energi der har skabt det. Nu glæder jeg mig til at vi har økonomi til at vi kan købe nye yogamåtter.

OLIVER: Hvilke overvejelser går ind i hvilke yogamåtter der skal købes?

JOHAN: det har jeg ikke overvejet. God kvalitet, gode formiljøet, produceret af noget matriale der er bæredygtigt.

OLIVER: har du selv en yogamåtte?

JOHAN: nej, det har jeg faktisk ikke

FREDERIK: hvilken rolle spiller spiritualitet her i Tinkuy

JOHAN: for mig er livet spirituelt og mystisk. I dans og i en kakaroceremoni, og i workshops hvor man relaterer til hinanden, er det er hengivenhed til noget større, der er nogen dedikation til noget større. Man har en nysgerrighed i forhold til noget der rækker ud fra en selv. Det er den åbenhed og nysgerrighed i en gruppe. Det er spiritualitet. Det modsatte er når en gruppe bare ved hvad det handler, 'ja, det er det her vi skal og der er ikke noget der ændr sig' så sidder man i status quo. Det er fint i nogle sammenhænge, men det er ikke spiritualitet.

FREDERIK: er det vigtigt for medlemmer i T

JOHAN: Ja, det fornemmer jeg klart, at det er vigtigt. Det er et sted hvor der en nysgerrighed og åbenhed overfor det

Flemming - 06.03.18

OLIVER: så er vi live. Hvis du vil starte med at fortælle hvad dit navn er og hvor gammel du er

FLEMMING: Flemming Gydsbæk og er 48 år

OLIVER: hvor længe har du været medlem af Tinkuy

FLEMMING: Stort set fra starten så nok 3½ år

OLIVER: Hvor ofte kommer du ned i Tinkuy

FLEMMING: noget i retning mellem 3 og 5 gange om ugen. SÅ jeg er en af dem der er her allermest

OLIVER: Er der nogle specielle aktiviteter du kommer for?

FLEMMING: Kondelini yoga, kontakt impro, men der er der ikke så meget af for tiden. Det har jeg gået til ret fast. Det er det faste, ellers har det været mere løst. Yin yoga om torsdagen har jeg også været med til noget gange. KOndelini yoga onsdag og torsdag. OG tit kommer jeg også bare for at hænge ud, drikke en kop te og se om der er nogle mennesker jeg kender. Crashe på sofaen.

FREDERIK: Bor du tæt på?

FLEMMING: ah, det tager mig 20 minutter at cykle herind. Til at starte med boede jeg i Taastrup, så det tog mig lige 45 minutter at komme herind. Da kom jeg stadig ind 2-3 gange om ugen.

FREDERIK: Hvad er det ved Tinkuy der gør at du vil komme så meget?

FLEMMING: Jeg er arbejdsløs og jeg er ikke sådan lige en der umiddelbart er på vej i arbejd eller føler mig sådan helt arbejdsparat. Og det giver mening at fylde sin dag ud med et eller andet og møde andre mennesker. Så hvis ikke sådan havde været åben for det spirituelle og yoga. Jamen så havde det været et eller andet form for værested. Sådan noget hvor det er uforpligtende og der ikke forventes noget af en. Jeg kan komme når jeg vil, gå når jeg vil. Jeg kan lave mad. Drikke en kop te. Det er næsten altid nogle mennesker at snakke med. Og man kan også ikke snakke med nogle mennesker hvis man ikke er i humør til det.

OLIVER: hvad er Tinkuy for dig?

FLEMMING: Det er nok svaret på noget der generelt mangles i samfundet. Sådan et sted hvor man kan.. I gamle dage var der noget der hed forsamlingshus.. Og svaret på at der er rigtig mange arbejdsløse, der er rigtig mange der går ned med stress. Der er rigtig mange der savner at møde andre mennesker. Det giver rigtig meget mening at der på en eller anden måde er nogle steder hvor man kan mødes i stedet for at sidde og kukkelure i sin singlelejlighed. Og det var også det første spæde forsøg, jeg forstår ikke hvorfor man ikke oftere mødes og spiser sammen, en form for kollektiv initiativløshed. Men det ville give rigtig meget mening, og det tror jeg også er noget der popper lidt op forskellige steder. I boligforeninger osv. Så er der lige en gang om ugen der er noget fællesspisning.

FREDERIK: Er der andre steder end Tinkuy hvor du møder folk fra Tinkuy?

FLEMMING: Nej, det er faktisk meget låst fast på det her sted. Det ville give mening at på en eller anden måde at fusionere og sprede ideen så man kunne have en eller anden form for fælles abonnement til alle yoga steder i København, i stedet man er låst fast på det.

FREDERIK: Kommer du andre steder?

FLEMMING: Meget lidt. Mit behov bliver sådan rimelig godt dækket ind her. Det har nogen gange været nogle lidt større workshops i weekenden.

OLIVER: Hvor godt du folk hernede? Ses du også privat med medlemmer af Tinkuy?

FLEMMING: et par få stykker. Der er nogle jeg har kendt i 5-8 år, også før Tinkuy. Kasper Solen, ham hænger jeg ud med privat, mødes måske et par gange om måneden. Belinda. Katrine.

FREDERIK: Hvad betyder Tinkuy for dig når du ikke er til yoga class?

FLEMMING: altså nogen gange betyder det rigtig meget. Jeg har været sådant lidt følelsesmæssigt ude og skide. Der var et tidspunkt hvor jeg ikke havde noget sted at bo i en måned. Har crashet her et par gange. Havde nok fundet ud af det men.. Det er lidt sådan en følelse af eksistentielt holdepunkt. Her kan man altid komme. Døren er altid åben, og eller kan man hente nøglen. Der er aldrig tanken om at, så skal jeg sove på gaden. Jeg tror det er sundt for den mentale sundhed at komme og møde andre mennesker regelmæssigt og også være en del af en eller anden form for tribe, eller hvad man skal kalde det. Et eller andet form for fællesskab så det er de samme mennesker man møder. Og ikke bare Københavns mennesker man møder tilfældigvis.

FREDERIK: Er der nogen normer eller regler der gælder hernede Tinkuy? Er der en bestemt måde man er på eller taler på?

FLEMMING: Umiddelbart bliver der meget sjældent rynket på næsten af alternative tanker. Og det kan godt være det ikke er alle der er til at læse tarokkort og astrologi.

FREDERIK: så der er plads?

FLEMMING: Der er plads til sten og alt muligt, ik? Generelt højt til loftet. Det kunne være interessant at finde ud af hvor mange der har prøvet Ayahuasca. Det er nok en rimelig stor procentdel alligevel. Enten prøvet det eller noget andet. Mind expansion. Det er ikke altid man lige snakker så meget om det men.. Hvis jeg så listen så kunne jeg nok godt finde 50 ud af de 700, som nok er pænt meget over landsgennemsnittet for unge mennesker mellem 20-50.

FREDERIK: Nu siger du, at der er er plads til at være anderledes. Kan man godt komme og være mainstream, eller skal man være anderledes?

FLEMMING: nej, man skal ikke. Der er en åbenhed for at man er helt almindelig. Men det kan godt være at der er nogen der bliver lidt udfordret af den åbenhed. Og der er nogen der begynder at snakke om tarokkort osv.

FREDERIK: Er der noget politisk aktivitet eller noget der har politisk indflydelse?

FLEMMING: Der er en vis tilknytning til Alternativet. Mener de har lavet nogle ting sammen Johan og dem. Jeg har ikke så meget forstand på det. Det plejer jeg at gå lidt uden om. Men der nogen der har nogle

politiske diskussioner. Hvordan bruger mand den her platform, denne ide til at skabe et bedre samfund, ikke bare lige for 700 mennesker. Kan den spredes lidt mere, den her ide?

FREDERIK: Er der noget fokus på miljø hernede?

FLEMMING: Jeg vil da gætte på at der en lidt højere bevidsthed omkring miljø. Jeg tror generelt når folk begynder at lave yoga, så sker der en eller anden form for opvågning. Man kommer mere ned i kroppen. Men begynder at tænke mere over hvad man spiser. Tænker mere over miljøet. Måske færre rygere?

FREDERIK: hvad med sådan noget som vegetarer og veganere?

FLEMMING: Det vil jeg også gætte på er højere her. Men igen, det der med at der er plads til alle. Det er ikke noget jeg har oplevet at man rynker på næsen af dem der spiser kød. Der er måske en lille default til, hvis man siger 'skal vil lave sammenskudsgilde, hvad folk så disker op med af retter' Hvis man ikke siger noget om, 'skal vi lave vegetar' Så hælder den nok 60% til vegeterer. Så det er noget mere end gennemsnittet. Det er også i forhold til at der en vis indfølingsevne overfor at det ikke er alle der er vegetarar, men så tænker man også på gruppen som helhed. Hvis der er nogle vegetarer, så lad os være imødekommende overfor dem, selvom man måske spiser mest kød.

OLIVER: Fornemmer du at der nogen form for status eller hierarki hernede?

FLEMMING: næh, det oplever jeg ikke. Men der er selvfølgelig i starten, ved man ikke rigtig hvad er muligheden, og så spørger man nogen af dem der har gået har i længere tid. Og så får de en status af at være nogen der ved noget. At være klogere. Det er vi jo også til en vis grad. Men så er det heller ikke mere. Det er et spørgsmål om, hvor hurtigt finder de nye ud af, 'nå men jeg kan lave alt muligt hernede og være ligeså fri til at bestemme'. Men folk har det med at se tingene an inden de kaster sig ud i noget nyt.

OLIVER: Så sådan en vidensdeling eller integrationsmekanisme i stedet for et mere formelt hierarki? Hvis det gav mening?

FLEMMING: nej

OLIVER: De ældre medlemmer ligesom har en lille form for status i at videregive information til de nye, og kultur og normer? I stedet for at det er et formelt hierarki

FREDERIK: er der nogen steder hvor der er nogle regler skrevet op?

FLEMMING: Der er et eller andet der hedder ' den her sociale norm, at man har et eller anden fælles måde at interagere på og så begynder man meget hurtigt at afkode, hvad gør man her. Også tilpasser man sig nærmest uden at tænke over det. Ret hurtigt. Og i forhold til vidensdeling, så begynder den information at sprede sig. Helt automatisk.

FREDERIK: Hvad er det for nogle værdier eller normer som er hernede i Tinkuy?

FLEMMING: Måske noget omkring åbenhed. Rumlighed. At turde nærvær. At turde samtale med nogen man ikke lige kender. Det bliver også lidt mere default, at det er det man gør. Det sker ikke på samme måde på et bibliotek. Man mødes lige i entreen og så siger man hej, hvad laver du? Så har man samtalen, og skal vi tage en kop te. Hvis man ikke lige er på vej ud af døren så sker det en gang om ugen for mig at jeg får snakket med nogen jeg ikke kender, og så har jeg en ny ven, eller en jeg har snakket lidt med.

FREDERIK: nu nævnte du hvorfor du kommer i tinkuy? Hvorfor tror du at folk kommer hernede

FLEMMING: Jeg tror der er nogen der bruger lidt mere som bare et yogasted. Almindelig yogasted. Og så langsomt begynder de at se, at 'nå, man kan også tage en kop te og hænge ud'. Og der er nogen der måske bare kommer 1-2 gange om måneden, fordi de lige tilfældigvis har meldt sig ind. Så er der nogle workshops de tager til fordi de lige er fan af nogen bestemte der holder workshops her. Feks er der nogen der hedder Mette og Mikaela der holder nogle gentle touch, tantra workshops. Og de har ligesom deres fanskare ude i byen. Og de kommer hertil. Og det er med til at få nogle nye kunder med her til. Det tænker jeg også er en vigtig pointe i forhold til den måde Johan tænker på eller stedet tænker på. At det at gøre weekenden gratis i forhold til at folk der kommer ude fra og gerne vil låne lokalet. Så er der hele tiden nyt flow af folk der kommer hertil fordi det mere eller mindre kendte workshopholdere der kommer.

FREDERIK: Hvilken rolle spiller Johan i alt det her?

FLEMMING: han er her jo bare næsten altid. Han har jo startet ideen sammen med Tanja. Altså han er jo også en interessant form for ledertype, på den måde at hans arbejde er så flydende. Han tager sig nærmest altid til at tage en eller anden hyggesnak som hele tiden er en eller anden form for vidensdeling. Så sidder vi for fem minutters tid siden og snakker om hvad fungerer her og hvad fungerer ikke. Og nogen gange er der nogen der er ked af et eller andet, og så tager han sig også tid til det. Og alt i alt får han nået det hele. Og hele

tiden suger til sig, osmose-agtgigt. Informationer. Der skabes mere og mere et stabilt vidensfundament. Indføling med hvor er gruppen henne og hvad giver mening.

FREDERIK: Er der nogen specielle ritualer hernede? Det er nogle ting jeg ikke har hørt om før. Det er nogle trommer og noget der hedder kakaoceremoni? Hvordan ser du det?

OLIVER: Det kan være helt hverdagsting og events der bliver holdt.

FLEMMING: Jeg synes det mest rituelle der er hernede, er det med 'skal vi tage en kop te' En invitation ind i selskabet. Man går ud i køkkenet og så spørger man om der er nogen der skal have en kop med. Og det er selvfølgelig en meget almindelig ting, men man kan også spørge nogen man ikke kender. 'Skal vi tage en kop te? Det bliver et samlingspunkt. Fordi alle de andre ting du nævner, det.. Det er selvfølgelig en fællesnævner i det. Men der er ikke nødvendigvis overlap over alle. Men te kan vi sgu alle sammen forholde os til.

FREDERIK: hvad med sådan noget så simpelt som de her yogamåtter og tæpper og puder. Hvad bruger man dem til?

FLEMMING: Til det de skal bruges til.

FREDERIK: Man sover vel ikke på dem? Så vidt jeg kan forstå.

FLEMMING: efter yoga er det meget almindeligt at man har 5-10 minutter og bare ligger og slapper af. Og så tager man tæppe over for ikke at fryse. Og puden til hovedet. Og man bruger dem når man sidder i sofaen.

FREDERIK: Er det noget der sker efter hver class?

FLEMMING: ja, det er ikke sådan helt specielt

OLIVER: er det nogen specielle ting i Tinkuy der har en betydning for dig og fælleskabet?

FLEMMING: Faktisk så har sofaen en særlig betydning. Der har jeg haft masser af gode snakker og hygge. Man sidder og cuddler lidt op under et tæppe. Sidder og drikker en kop te der i sofaen. Den har ligesom et symbol af den mulighed, at hvis man tør komme hinanden lidt tættere på, så er det i sofaen. Det er noget der sker relativt ofte. At man cuddler op. Det er lidt forskelligt fra et bibliotek. Eller fire mennesker. Men glemmer lidt at det ikke er helt almindeligt uden for Tinkuy.

OLIVER: Er der nogen brands eller mærker som spiller en rolle hernede? Det kunne være alt fra hvad der bliver spist eller drukket eller lignende.

FLEMMING: jeg har godt lagt mærke til at det er et økologisk mærke sæbe. Jeg kan ikke huske hvad det hedder. Det er nok relativt tilfældigt at det lige er det mærke, men at det er økologisk. Det er sundt for miljøet. Ude på te-afdelingen at det er ikke specielt økologisk, det er lidt tilfældigt hvad folk lige slæber med hjemmefra.

OLIVER: hvad med dig selv, er der nogen brands du godt kan lide. Mad eller tøj eller

FLEMMING: Genbrugstøj. Det er yderst sjældent jeg køber tøj. Det er regel genbrugstøj, der begynder at være lidt genbrugscentral, noget som folk ikke lige bruger.

FREDERIK: er der nogen fællestræk i folks beklædning?

FLEMMING: Lidt mere hippie agtig

OLIVER: når du siger hippie agtigt, hvad mener du så?

FLEMMING: løse haremsbukser

OLIVER: Haremsbukser, ja

FLEMMING: Lidt forskel i forhold til cbs. Du kunne nok godt lave en skelnen.

FREDERIK: der er måske ikke helt så mange der kommer i jeans og skjorte?

FLEMMING: nej

FREDERIK: hvor meget bruger du Tinkuy online? Hvor kan møde Tinkuy online?

FLEMMING: Man kan gå ind på aktiviteter på deres hjemmeside og se hvad man gerne vil tage til. Og så er der Facebook gruppen hvor der også bliver postet events. Facebook events, som bliver afholdt i Tinkuy. Det bruger jeg også nogle gang, sådan lige. Klikker. For at minde mig selv om det

FREDERIK: Bruger du det til andet end en kalender? Er der nogen samtaler derinde eller diskussioner?

FLEMMING: Det er der sikkert, det er ikke noget jeg gør i. Det er måske også godt at det kommer ud i det virkelige liv fremfor det er online og virtuel kontakt. Så har jeg selv postet et par facebookevents hertil. Jeg har holdt de der kakaoceremonier 2-3 gange.

FREDERIK: hvad går de ud på?

FLEMMING: Det er måske et forsøg på at, for mig, at skabe et mere rumlig måde at være sammen på. Hvor man mennesker kan føle hinanden og får fred til at være sårbare eller åbne sit hjerte, hvad så end det betyder. Men man kan sige hvis man ikke tør vise sin sårbare side, så er det måske relativt sværere også at åbne sit

hjerte. Hvis der er en side man skjuler, så er det svært at være helt åben. Hvis vi finder ud af at vi ikke gider helt så meget at tage at på druk, tage på diskotek og høre højt musik og ikke rigtig finde ud af dybe samtaler, så kan man prøve noget nyt hvor man er sammen i en gruppe, hvor man måske ikke siger så meget men prøver at mærke indad. Det appellerer måske lidt mere til den introverte side. Ens kreative side. Og der hjælper kakaoen så lidt fordi den åbner hjertet. Man kunne også godt tage en kop te, men kakao har en effekt, det er helt sikkert.

OLIVER: fedt, jamen tak for det hele

FLEMMING: det var så lidt

Jacob - 02.03.18

OLIVER: Okay, det virker til, at der kører.

JACOB: Velkommen til P3. Haha

OLIVER: Først vil vi gerne høre, hvad er dit navn?

JACOB: Jacob Dernje

OLIVER: Hvor gammel er du?

JACOB: Ææh 73, det er 45, ikke? Vi er i 18 nu, jo. 45 ja.

OLIVER: Hvor længe har du været medlem af Tinkuy?

JACOB: Aldrig. Ikke officielt.

OLIVER: Hvor længe har du haft tilknytning til det så?

JACOB: Jeg tror, hvad var det de havde tre års fødselsdag her for et halvt års tid siden. Så jeg tror næsten jeg har været med siden starten. Jeg har på vej hjem fra Indien da nogen nævnte nogen om det. Så gik jeg bare ned og snakkede om at undervise. Vi var ret enige om at undervise dengang. Så altså mit fokus har været at undervise yoga da jeg støtte på stedet og synes at det var interessant og hvad det kunne tiltrække i forhold til, hvad jeg vil med yoga. Og jeg havde egentlig tænkt på stedet som spirituelt fitness. Det var også den forståelse jeg havde for mig selv, at have et sted hvor jeg kunne undervise yoga og følge mit hjerte. [SS1]

OLIVER: Kan du uddybe det lidt?

JACOB: Jamen altså først og fremmest ja, så er min tilgang til yogaen: yoga først. Og så havde jeg bare været her hos Tinkuy i en 9-10 måneder, så skulle jeg afsted til Indien og så skulle vi finde ud af et eller andet hvor de spurgte om jeg ikke ville have et eller andet for det. Og havde hele tiden sagt, at jeg skulle have noget for det, men som sagt var det ikke rigtigt noget jeg havde lagt vægt på. Og det var en af de ting jeg synes var interessant hernede, at der ikke var så stor fokus på penge. Og så igen er der en vist duft af det igennem vores vestlige programmering. Og det er jo ikke noget der er bebrejdet eller rettet mod nogen, men noget, der ligger ret dybt i os. Med min tid med yoga har jeg mistet meget af interessen for det. Jeg synes værdier er spændende og har forståelse for det, men alt monetært besvær er sådan lidt meget gøgl eller lidt for religiøst til mig. Så på den måde så synes jeg at Tinkuy havde nogle rigtige fundamenter, men jeg synes også jeg oplevede, hvis jeg ville undervise eller gøre ting eller havde ideer eller havde forslag til noget jeg prøvede at præsentere, blev jeg mødt af en mur af modstand og tænkte: jeg prøver at tilbyde noget yoga og nogle ting og så kunne jeg ikke rigtigt forstå at de sagde at der var for meget yoga i forvejen, og når de fik at vide at det var gratis, nåååå, så var der ingen problemer. Så jeg havde siddet et kvarter/tyve minutter og havde kæmpet imod nogen, jeg prøvede bare at præsentere noget, jeg kunne ikke forstå hvorfor det var så svært for mig at give nogle af de her gaver væk. Men der kunne man se at de havde forventninger om, at der var en der ville tjene nogle flere penge, og så kommer han her med et produkt og skal have os til at give ham nogle penge. Og der kan man ligesom se at det er en lang lang lang tung proces vi er blevet programmeret ind i, hvorfor jeg synes Tinkuy er spændende, og de prøver i hvert fald at gøre op med tanken. Så det fascinerede mig at de kan tilbyde så meget for 108 kroner i forhold til hvor elendig kvaliteten er mange andre steder, eller uformel eller ligegyldig eller intetsigende. Så får man, synes jeg, de giver meget for pengene. Men jeg har aldrig tænkt over det der med medlemskabet. Johan kommenterede så også lidt på det i sommer eller et eller andet, om jeg ikke skulle være medlem og sådan. Jeg har min egen forening, det er foreningen for individer uden medlemmer.

OLIVER: For individer uden medlemmer?

JACOB: Ja, jeg har en foreningen for individer, og den er meget vellykket fordi den ikke har nogen medlemmer.

OLIVER: Ah haha okay.

JACOB: Altså jeg har ikke så meget behov for at være en del af nogen fællestræk, jeg er altid bare kommet her for at undervise, og så har jeg deltaget i nogle andre timer. Som regel i research øjemed for at styrke min egen undervisning. Så jeg har aldrig rigtig tænkt over, om jeg har betalt eller ikke betalt. Jeg synes jo bare at alt jeg kom og gjorde – jeg har jo aldrig rigtigt bedt om noget for det, selvom de har været søde og tilbyde og faktisk insisteret på at betale mig, og det er fint, at de ikke bare tænker, de ville heller ikke have ret rart med at det var gratis og at de ikke skulle betale mig for det. Det er egentlig sjovt nok her i vesten at jeg nogle gange, hvis jeg har problemer med folk, hvis de har bedt mig om nogle ydelser, hvis jeg har gjort noget vi har aftalt – ja, at de så har set frem til drama omkring at de ikke skal betale eller lignende. OG hvis man så ikke siger noget eller er ligeglad, så meget ofte ender det med at de ender med at insistere på at betale. Så du kan bare skubbe modsat energi og være fuldstændig ligeglad, så ender det med at de bliver fuldstændig flove. Der er lidt meget drama her i vesten. Tinkuy giver nogle gode fundamenter.

FREDERIK: Hvor meget underviste du?

JACOB: Jeg tror det var 2 gange om ugen de første par år. Jeg har altid efterlyst minimum tre, for det er det jeg synes man bør gå som individ og person, og så skulle det være 5-7 gange om ugen for at folk kunne nå at komme tre gange om ugen til den type yoga, velvidende at der skal være plads til alle og det ikke er, altså at det er, at de er meget bange for at de tror at man skal køre business ud af det, og det er jo det sidste jeg ønsker at gøre, jeg er jo røv ligeglad med penge. Men at det også er et godt sted hvor folk kan spire og udvikle deres talent, man kan sige at der er nogle gode fundamenter i forhold til at lønningerne er ret primitive og simple. Og på den måde kan man sige at der ikke er de store kvalitetskrav stillet op på forhånd. Og det er også en fuldkommen ligegyldig ting i forhold til at der kommer som regel meget bedre energi ud af tingene ud af at der ikke er fokus på at :jeg har betalt så og så meget, jeg skal have så og så meget ud af det. Det er som jeg kan se med donationsyoga, at det ikke er det mest givtige rent økonomisk men at det, hvad skal man sige, mit forhold med at undervise er som regel at folk får noget ud af det og at de lærer, og der kan jeg se at jeg når meget dybere ind i hovedet på folk når de ikke er fanget i de der problemer.

OLIVER: Hvor tit kommer du i Tinkuy nu?

JACOB: Det er første gang jeg tror jeg har været her siden nytår, eller jeg tror jeg har været her en gang i forbindelse med Morten eller en af mine tidligere yogaelever som også er blevet yogigøgler hernede. Han har også været her noget tid men tror også han er stoppet. Da jeg underviste her meget, kom jeg typisk to til fire gange om ugen. Jeg prøvede som regel at dyrke yoga hver morgen og prøvede at tage nogle timer en gang imellem for ligesom at få inspiration. Men ja, typisk, som sagt har jeg aldrig rigtig været medlem og ikke set det som et medlemsfora, så jeg kigger ikke rigtigt, jeg har bare set det som et sted hvor jeg kunne praktisere yoga og få lov til at dele noget ud. Så jeg har aldrig rigtig fokuseret på det som et sted hvor jeg har tænkt at det skal jeg være en del af, jeg har set det som et outlet for yoga i min autistiske verden.

FREDERIK: Hvordan tror du at Tinkuy selv, er det også et sted, hvor folk bare kan komme og dyrke yoga, eller er det mere end det?

JACOB: Altså de har jo en ide om at kalde sig selv en spirituel fitness forening, det er en meget sød, god, rammende, præcis, men også upræcis, og det er jo nok det, der er meningen med Tinkuy. Altså deres egen selvopfattelse kan man sige, ja, der er altid en form for selvfedhed i form af, at man ikke følger etablissementet eller normer. Altså hvor man kan sige, at det giver altid lidt en boost til en, at man føler i hvert fald at man har en ide om ens retning fordi man ikke går på main-sporet og så bliver den vej man er på også det mere tydelig. Som jeg siger, det er en lang vej og mine oplevelser hernede i Tinkuy er meget ofte at jeg kan mærke kapitalismens principper stadig skinner lidt igennem hernede igennem vores grundprogrammering. Så det er ikke noget møntet hverken på foreningen eller personerne, men i vore grundprogrammering i at tro på at altid skal gøres i normale kapitalistiske principper, ligeså religiøst i vores programmering. Så ja, hvem er Tinkuy ifølge dem selv?

FREDERIK: du nævner at du ikke helt så meget er med i fællesskabet, men føler du der er et fællesskab? Selvom du måske ikke er med? Altså kan du fornemme at der er nogle andre, der er?

JACOB: Ja fedt spørgsmål, det er nok det jeg synes de har været gode til, det er at kreere et godt fællesskab. En tæthed, der mangler generelt i mange storbyer i den vestlige verden. Hvor man kan sige at nata yoga for eksempel for mig ville være ekstremen af for meget af det, hvor de næsten sidder og plukker lus af hinanden som andre aber, og hele tider sidder og skal nusse og ae. Og det er selvfølgelig super rart at blive bekræftet hvis man har behov for det, men det kan også blive for meget i forhold til at det kommer sig af et samfund der er i decideret ubalance. Og der kan man sige at niveauet her er lidt mere, men igen også, ja som sagt, jeg

er ikke så god til at være flokdyr og synes der er meget hype omkring mange ting, så jeg genkender også lidt omkring at meget social adfærd også er en vis form for hype fordi folk ikke kan føle at være ude af sig selv. Så det er dejligt at være begejstret for et eller andet uanset om det er latterligt eller ej, det giver noget tryghed for folk. Altså ja, man kan sige at hele den vestlige verden lige pt er, de fleste af de ting de sælger og gør og skal forstås mere som hype end at kigge funktionalitet, det er ikke rigtig det der penetrerer vores tænkemåde og bevidsthed. Om et par hundrede år vil man godt kunne gennemskue at denne tid har været absolut mørk middelalder i forhold til potentiel bevidsthed. Men det er sådan lidt svært at gennemskue når man sidder i det. Man synes jo hver dag at man gør sit bedste og man synes hele tiden at man nu forstår det hele lidt bedre og man udforsker nye verdener og lærer noget nyt. At nu forstår man det hele. Der er jo en eller anden mekanisme i vores programmering der gør at man har et meget urealistisk forhold til virkeligheden og har kreeret en selvfedhed er hele tiden manifesterer sig på trods af, at vi hele tiden vil have nyt, som så forklarer den selvfedhed. Men det andet er ikke til at møde når man ikke kan mærke det eller ikke er der i nuet. Og det, men igen, ja, jeg er jo ekstrem nærmest autistisk i den modsatte retning til at være anti-flokdyr. Så alt foreningsliv for mig er sådan lidt et allerede et konkursbo. Nej, hvad skal man sige, mange af de konstruktioner vi har været samlet af igennem tiden har også oftere været præget af traditioner og former og har været forbundet med en masse pligt og skyld som har gjort at man altid møder op til påske og til jul og tænker at det er normen, indtil man egentlig gør op med alle de der ting og siger: Jeg kommer fordi jeg har lyst. Jeg gider ikke ringe til min lillebror fordi det er hans fødselsdag, jeg vil ringe til ham uanset hvad. Vi har sådan noget mekanismer båret ind i, der bliver ved at holde os i nogle formationer og en kontaktform, hvor mine relationer, hvad enten det er familie eller venner, ja, det er fordi der skal være mening og lyst, og ikke fordi de er båret af normer eller traditioner. Det er fuldstændig ligegyldigt om det er jesusbarnet fødselsdag, man skal kontakte hinanden fordi det er kontakten mellem de to mennesker der er noget enestående og alt det andet er noget gøgl omkring.

FREDERIK: Hvad er din relation til de andre lærere? Altså yoga instruktører jer i Tinkuy?

JACOB: Ja, den er nok sådan lidt begrænset. Altså jeg har prøvet at være med rundt og forske i andres timer og undervisningsteknikker og finder også meget glæde i selv de dårligste instruktører – eller dem jeg konnekter mindst med – men tit og ofte, som jeg siger, lærer jeg nærmest mere omkring hvad jeg ikke skal gøre. Så det er ikke nødvendigvis det, der gør om jeg kan lide folk og har det også meget med, at vi ser mennesker som potentielle yogier og hvor langt de er i deres yogi proces. Jeg tager også altid udgangspunkt i at folk skal først og fremmest bare være min ven for at være min ven. Nu kan jeg se med mange af mine tidligere yogaelever, at jeg nærmest er som en guru for dem, i den forstand at jeg aldrig ville være guru for dem og har sagt finde selv ud af det. Eller I må gerne spørg om min mening, men I skal ikke komme og skælde ud, når det gik galt. Og at jeg netop altid har et dem som venner. Mange af mine teenage elever som jeg underviste da de var 14 år for en ti år siden nu er blevet små voksne mænd på 24 år og har fået lidt hår på brystet og lidt omkring munden. Hvad skal man sige, at de har været meget glade for mig, at jeg har fungeret lidt som en onkel for dem igennem mange år og en bedste ven. Og det, jeg synes jeg var mindst var noget med en yogi at gøre eller en yogainstruktør. De var meget passionerede omkring det og sjovt nok har det jo givet de allermest følelsen af at hvis man skulle have en formation omkring yoga eller en sandhed omkring samfundet, så kunne man spørge Jacob. Og jeg er netop ikke, synes at yogier med et stort følge nu om dage er en total misforståelse om de er gode eller ej. Netop som man ser i indien at de største guruer har de største flokke af får, ja altså hvis vi nu er nogle der klatrer i træer eller det jo ikke så praktisk at have en masse får omkring sig, så er det feder at have nogle selvstændige væsner, der er sine egne små yogier. Og de vil jeg sige, at jeg har efterhånden en 20-30 mennesker omkring mig som er dybt passionerede omkring yoga eller også er blevet yogainstruktører og har en stærk kerne i sig. Det er en helt anden energi, som sagt kan jeg godt være lidt som en guru for dem, og det er det sidste jeg ønsker, jeg vil ikke have noget ansvar i tingene. Samtidig er der en stor tillid og jeg som jeg ser det har en 30 power mennesker omkring mig som kan rykke for 100 mennesker hver især, og de kan smitte af på mange flere. Og så er der mange andre som har en million får omkring sig som altid forbliver får og bare betaler lidt ind og støtter guruen uden forandring. Selvudvikling og personlig.

FREDERIK: Er der nogen sådan, i de miljøer, måske instruktører eller folk som dyrker meget yoga – er der nogen sådan best-practises eller approaches eller tilgange til yoga som måske ikke er bedre end andre men sættes mest pris på?

JACOB: Altså mit fokus har været en retning til selvpraksis. Jeg har fundet ud af at det der Sivananda gøgl er ultimativt et yoga mesterstykke i at tænke hvordan jeg bedst muligt finder retning til selvpraksis. Det har

hele tiden været fundamentet. Der er alle mulige andre yoga koncepter der siger deres vejrtrækning er speciel eller er specielt god for skuldrene og bla bla bla. Det er fine ting, men altså den basispraksis men skal have skal vel være sådan som de har fokus på en full-body workout og afslapning for sind og krop og nogle pauser til at kreere de der integrationsmuligheder. Der er da klart, altså der er plads til alt yoga i verden og definitionen i Indien er der jo ikke noget, der hedder de der rammer og faste koncepter. Det er hvad du selv tror på og hvilken autoritet du lægger i tingene. Jeg synes at være hernede har altid været sjovt og spændende. Altså jeg kan godt se at de fleste af lærerne hernede er lidt grønne og prøver deres materiale af inden de måske skal gå ud et andet sted og fakturere mere hardcore. At det er med til at gøre det til det bløde sted. Nogle gange fornemmer man måske godt at nogle folk kunne tænke at de var lidt mere discounted instruktørstab der kan være her eller at man selv skal være med til at kreere timen. Man kan fornemme en lille følelse af det, men det tror jeg er en god følelse i forhold til hold og flokmentalitet. Det, der gør at folk er gode eller dårlige her er ofte mere med marketing og at slibe forholdene til sine følger frem for at have et reelt budskab på hjertet som man så er fascineret af. At de fleste går til ting herhjemme i forhold til at emulere – hvis den der person er succesfuld gør jeg det samme som den person i stedet for at sige: jeg tager bare lige teori eller praksis. Som jeg siger, folk skal ikke kopiere mig når de går ind i yoga, jeg forandrer mig fuldstændig. Jeg kender dårligt mig selv eller mit gamle jeg for en måned siden. Jeg vil stille stærkt spørgsmålstegn ved, hvor dum jeg var dengang. Det er en svær balance også alt efter hvem man er. Jeg har haft nogle elever som har været meget med bare at prøve sweateren på, bare springe ud i ting og få en masse gode oplevelser og får så mange muligheder hvor jeg føler måske at jeg sådan er personen der kigge på fra afstanden og gerne står med en pind på en meter eller to og skubber til et eller andet dødt dyr for at være sikker på at det er dødt. Og sådan står jeg ret meget og prikker til tingene inden jeg for alvor snuser til dem, Min egen ide om mig selv er, at jeg er lidt skeptisk overfor omstændighederne. Min første yoga instruktør han sagde også at jeg simpelthen var så skeptisk. Og jeg tænkte at det var noget underligt noget og meget negativet at sige for en yoga instruktør, der skulle prøve at fange en, der var helt ny i yoga. Men som han også sagde: hvis der er noget der penetrerer dit sind inden for yoga og noget du tror på, så vil det virkelig brænde igennem, så du vil blive en helt vild yogi hvis du finder det interessant, for du er helt vildt skeptisk overfor alt, så det skal virkelig testes og igennem dine kvalitetskrav før det kommer ind. Så der er også en vis balance der, man skal have lov til at være meget skeptisk og specielt i denne her verden. Det er ikke rigtigt yogaen og det alternatives skyld, men mere verden generelt. Der bliver solgt utroligt meget hokus pokus gøgl indenfor den alternative verden lige pt, men det er mere fordi menneskeheden er ekstremt sårbar og dum og har meget lidt fokus på det alternative i forhold til den faktuelt styrede vestligt verden.

FREDERIK: Er der nogen sådan inden for yoga og Tinkuy her, nogen, det ser vi nemlig mange andre steder, nogen redskaber man bruger meget, eller nogen værktøjer man bruge, sådan mere fysiske ting som går igen. Altså sådan hverdagsting man bruger, når man dyrker yoga, som har en særlig betydning?

JACOB: Altså ja, jeg er lidt blandet, nu siger du værktøjer og yoga. Jo mere simpel yoga er, synes jeg, jo mere cool er den. Det er egentlig at arbejde med sig selv, så hvis man har en måtte er det luksus og hvis det skal være rigtig fedt så også tæppe. Derfra synes jeg rigtig meget andet bliver så meget ekstra udstyr at det bliver fuldstændige ligegyldigt. Altså hvis du har en måtte og et tæppe så er det andet ret ligegyldigt. Så man kan sige at der er så mange værktøjer som fungere, som for eksempel at chante om, specielt i disse tider hvor der er meget snot og slim, jamen altså det er en yogainstruktørs simpleste og bedste værktøj til at få en rolig time, og til at få forløst snottet og slimen der sidder i lungerne. Så lige at sidde ooommmm i nogle sekunder, så løsner det de der ting. Men det er for eksempel et værktøj som de fleste yogainstruktører ikke aner at det er et værktøj, og det er derfor man gør det i forhold til at det giver de fleste flokke en følelse af, at de har sagt noget eller bidraget lidt. Så det giver også en anden ro i dem lige at have bidraget lidt. Så det er nogle helt praktiske psykologiske værktøjer som regel vi bruger i yogaen som bliver betragtet som dybt esoteriske, at man bare skal chante om tre gange før og efter yoga timen, så blive yogaguden ikke sur på mig eller et eller andet. Nej for yogien er det bare noget der giver ro på, og også en fornemmelse af at mærke sig selv og at man er en cellestruktur bliver bare forstørret når man mærker de der vibrationer. Så der bliver om bare til et helt ikke stykke værktøj. Men for mange instruktører har de stadig ikke opdaget at det er et praktisk værktøj. Og det er der det starter – alt i yogaen starter ret praktisk, og så har det mange effekter også.

OLIVER: Hvad for noget udstyr har du selv derhjemme?

JACOB: Min krop. Nej, jeg har nogle små klokker jeg godt kan lide, så hvis man snakker undervisningsregi. Det er specielt i forhold til afslapning eller i workshops kan man lige bruge dem til at samle opmærksomhe-den mig igen også bare at klinge lyd ligesom om. Og den kører ligesom bare ud. Det er et værktøj til at zoome ud og give slip. Og der er vibrationer bare en essentiel del. Så sådan nogle klokker bruger jeg tit, spe-cielt til afslapning i yoga. Jeg føler mig helt nøgen hvis jeg har glemt mine klokker. Men så er der også en synge bowl, så hvis jeg har meget plads og det er tæt på, så jeg ikke skal slæbe for meget på tingene, så er den da klart federe end klokkerne.

FREDERIK: Og hvad er det?

JACOB: En synge bowl er bare en lidt større skål, hvor de andre er to små jernringe eller bronzeting man skubber let sammen og så giver det lidt lyd, hvor syngekålen er en større skål med et træredskab med et stykke stof omkring. Men det er igen om vibrationer. Vi er en 50 til 100 trillioner celler. Cirka halvdelen af dig, eller det du kan styre, der er mange bakterier og alt muligt andet der udgør den anden halvdel af dig, men det du kan styre, er den cellestruktur, og ikke enormt meget af alle de andre autonome celler og robotter. Så det er et mystisk du opfatter dig selv som en og et væsen. I betragtning er du bare borgmester for en helt flok af alle mulige originaler og ting. Men altså cellestrukturen har vi indflydelse på, og specielt med vibrati-onen. Så vi er primært vand og vibrationer og vand og oxygen, så vibrationer er bare en ekstrem måde for healing. Som sagt katte er det tydelige eksempel på at man fandt ud af, at nogle forskere der undersøgte no-get omkring kræft at katte meget sjældent fik kræft, og når de fik det var det typisk i poterne eller halen. For-skerne synes jo det var dybt spændende og sammenlignede med domestikerede hunde, og de fik kræft hist og pist af alle steder og mindede meget mere statistisk om mennesker, hvor kattene afveg helt enormt. Så de la-vede alle mulige forsøg gennem flere måneder, og til sidst havde de givet helt op, for de kunne ikke rigtigt finde nogen tal eller andet de kunne måle og registrere at det var det, der gjorde det. Så nærmest i opgivel-sens stund så sad de og observerede og kom til at se katten ligge og spinde. Og så gik de i gang med at finde katte, der ikke kunne lide at spinde, og de var ligesom mennesker og andre dyr, som ikke havde de der vibra-tioner. Så det holder cellerne raske og længst væk fra centrum af epicenteret eller tsunamien hvor rystelsen og vibrationen, det er der hvor at kræften kan få bedst kraft, hvor vibrationen er lavest, typisk i enden af po-terne og i halen. Det er der hvor det bedst manifesterede sig i katten, for det er længst fra vibrationerne. Så jo, it's all about good vibes. Der er meget mere dybde i det, end vi havde regnet med.

FREDERIK: Det er måske lidt basic, men hvad har folk på af tøj når de dyrker yoga?

JACOB: Der må jeg sige at Tinkuy har også markeret sig der. Jeg har været forundret, for der er virkelig frit og folk kommer jo fra nær og fjern. Jeg har taget venner med i et væk. Alverdens folk kan man støde på, og kunne komme når jeg underviste. Og jeg tror også de har været glade or det, at der kom mange medlemmer af at jeg bare tog folk med, som så blev. I starten da jeg ikke fik noget for det og ikke vidste om classen ville blive fyldt synes jeg ikke det var noget problem, så jeg har altid taget folk med. Der har jeg også kunne se at tit når jeg har været hos andre yogainstruktører og også da jeg startede hernede med flere af de folk der har været en del af opstarten og kreeret det her sted havde elendige bukser på. Det drejer sig omkring fleksibilite-ten omkring livet for vejrtrækningen. Yoga i hverdagen er meget vigtigere end at gå til yoga et par gange om ugen. Så ordentlige bukser og fodtøj, noget der ikke stammer omkring livet og som masserer fødderne or-dentligt giver dem udfordring og sørger for at de får det, der svarer til en god massage ved at gå ordentligt. Ordentlig gang og ordentlig vejrtrækning er meget vigtigere end andet yoga gøgl.

FREDERIK: Og hvad er andet yoga gøgl?

JACOB: Jamen altså asanas, komme til timerne og de der ting. Altså man kan sige yoga er i princippet en livsstil men fordi de fleste af os har et meget nidkært forhold til vores ego og synes vi har svært ved at forstå hvem vi er, hvis vi ikke er den, vi er blevet bildt ind vi er. Og der kan man ligesom sige at det piller lidt ved det hele i forhold til at ja, at du kan dyrke yoga hele tiden, men når du kan være bevidst i det du gør, netop ved at have ting på der gør du kan trække vejret og får masseret dine fødder. For du trækker vejret 20-30 tu-sind gange om dagen. Og siden vi er gået i ring der og er blevet bi-pedal og har droppet vores firbenede til-gang til tingene, kan man sige at der er sket en utrolig forandring i menneskekroppen og den er tit glemt, og der kan jeg se at mange instruktører har slet ikke opmærksomhed på, at ting ikke må stramme omkring livet, og folk sidder med ure og ringe og halskæder på, og nogle af instruktørerne går rundt med smykker og ting. Hver en lille ring og hvert et lille armbånd fjerner en lille smule af energien og opmærksomheden. Og der er yoga simpelthen nede på finesserne af finesserne, det er formel-1, det er kvantefysik i detaljer. Man kan sige

af det er dernede det arbejder på, hvis man giver plads til det. Man kan også bare tage det som en gymnastik-time, men det er hvor effekterne virkelig virker. Det handler jo meget om at åbne sig selv og være bevidst om, at man kan have flere hjerne eller intelligenser, der er placeret rundt omkring i kroppen, vi kan kalde dem chakra, men der er en vis form for intelligens. Vi er ekstremt tilknyttet til det vi kalder hjernen heroppe, men det er måske slet ikke den, der varetager særlig meget af tankeprocessen og beslutninger. Som man også ser i hjertet, er der enorm aktivitet. Så igen ser jeg at ja, der ufatteligt mange instruktører eder er søde og dej-lige og søger yogaen for virkelig hvad yoga er, men igen en refleksion udad i deres daglige gøren og virken at jeg kan se at folk gentagne gange komme i jeans eller med ting på deres hånd, at de som yogier ikke hen-vender sig til dem. Jeg kan se de er venner med dem eller lignende. Det forekommer mig dybt mystisk, hvor langt er de egentlig selv side ned ikke er bevidste om den slags. Men mere konceptet omkring yoga er de tæt på at nå, men egentlig bare at have værktøjerne og have retningen, og hvad folk så kalder en er mindre vig-tig. Så de er dygtige og søde men der er også ofte fejl, men der er der jo hos os alle, der er mange yogier af bedre karakter, der kunne komme og sige Jacob, det er da noget underligt noget du laver, så siger jeg ja det er ubevidstheden, der er jeg ikke klog nok endnu. Så det er ikke nogen, så det er absolut småting, men det fortæller jo også bare tydeligt at der er nogle mangler.

FREDERIK: fedt. Har du mere [til OLIVER]?

OLIVER: Vi kunne måske lige slutte med at snakke en lille smule om sådan brands og mærker. Om der er nogen for eksempel, hvis man skal vælge eller anbefale en yogamåtte, om der er nogen – det kan være tøj – hvordan brands påvirker både dig og Tinkuy? Om der er nogle mønstre, er noget, der er vigtigt i forhold til brands?

JACOB: Ja, her kan man næsten se at det er bedre at have et hul i trøjen end ikke at have et hul i trøjen. Så det er ikke noget, der er måske så meget i Tinkuy. Det er her jeg ser de fylder et godt hul i forhold til meget af det andet yoga. I forhold til folk, der kommer for networking eller for at have det rigtige på. Der er masser af socialt i, at folk møder her og det langtfra kun er yogaen de kommer for eller hvad de ellers går til hernede af danse, og tit bare for at hænge ud og sige underlige ting sammen med andre mennesker. Det er selvfølge-lig også en del af det. Ja hvor kom vi fra?

OLIVER: Brands og mærker

JACOB: Ja, jamen altså hvis vi skal snakke i forhold til yoga eller i forhold til Tinkuy, fordi yoga og brands det er jo sådan selvmodsigende, men hvor den der lægger vægt på det eller den, der har behov for et stærkt brand er jo en mangel i dem selv. Men hvor hele menneskeheden er et stort hul indvendigt, og det er også derfor marketing og brands har en enorm fylde og gøren, men ville være fuldkommen obsolete med lidt hø-jere bevidsthed i befolkningen. Vi kan jo se i 1800 tallet løb de rundt med de der parykker og så løjerlige ud. Om 50 år vil vi sku da også grine af, at folk dyrkede de der design guruen på det plan, at deres selvværd blev hævet af, at man vidste at en eller anden designer havde sat sit mærke på. Det er ligeså religiøst om alt muligt andet. Altså som Captain Fantastic eller børnene omkring Nike skoene at Nike er en græsk gud, som man emulerer i den vestlige verden. Og der kan man ligesom se at de blev betragtet som dumme af ikke rigtigt at kende den oprindelige historie om at Nike var en græsk gud, og hvor de andre var snot åndssvage for ikke at vide det var skoene, de snakkede om. Og igen i det overfladisk samfund vil det være dem, der snakker om skoene, der har ret. Så ja, altså branding kan man sige er hele jeres institution er jo sådan lidt et reklamesel-skab i sig selv synes jeg, ikke rigtigt noget der producerer så meget. Og det, det understøtter er sin egen ide, lidt som TV2 i sin tid, der lavede reklamer for at man kunne lave reklamer på TV2 og der var dokumentar-programmer om effekterne af reklamerne – de havde lagt lidt ind i TV2s sendeflade. Alle folk synes jamen selvfølgelig, hvis jeg havde et produkt, ville jeg også gerne havde det i fjernsynet, for så ville flere købe det. Men altså i en fremtidig verden hvor selvværdet vil vokse i mennesket vil branding og marketing jo være en ting som vil drosle ned. Man kan se fb og alle de der, der kommer mere og mere et opgør med folk, som ikke gider at være på de der elementer for de har ikke behov for de der ting, nogen bruger de det lidt som kommu-nikation eller bruger det som en firmadel, men begynder selv at fjerne deres ego fuldstændig fra de der ting fordi de godt kan se at dybde og substans er der ikke meget af, og derfor er det ikke meget mere end bare overfladisk marketing gøgl. Og det er jo også det jeg har været super ked af herhjemme for eksempel, at jeg får at vide de fleste steder jeg underviser at det var super fedt og hvor underviser du henne? Vi vil gerne have mere og det var helt sikkert det rigtige. Og så siger jeg ikke rigtig nogen steder, for det er typisk tre måneders kontrakter på hænder og fødder og alt muligt andet og en masse ting når man kommer og underviser et sted, så skal man være en del af det sted og man bliver blandet ind i kollegaer og samarbejder og det er fint at det

er en mulighed og at man kan vælge at interagere, ligesom jeg også har valgt at bo i en storby hvor jeg kan se flere i min opgang er pisse sure over at jeg ikke skal stoppe og snakke med dem hele tiden, men da jeg fandt ud at jeg interesserer mig meget for yoga for ti år siden, og mindre for drama og socialt sladder og hvad der foregår i andelsforeningen, så trækker jeg mig stille og roligt ud af det, og der kan jeg mærke at der mange der er blevet decideret nærmest sure på mig. Hvor jeg siger jeg har bare givet plads til at vi måske ikke har så meget til fælles, og det er nok til at de bliver sure. Og her kan man se jantelov og hvor meget plads der egentlig er til at bryde ud for normen Og i storbyen bør der jo være allermest plads til at være anonym hvis man har lyst til det. Ellers kan man flytte på heden, hvor alle går og blander sig lidt i alle og er sådan lidt småtossede uden der er nogen, der tænker over det. Der kan jeg godt se at der er mange af de elementer "det er normalt man skal sige hej til hinanden når man går forbi hinanden" Jamen altså hvis I føler at i har en eller andet konneksion, jamen… at de altid har stået og skældt ud for at føle at de skulle hævde sig overfor mig for derefter at tilgive mig, hvor de slet ikke har forstået at det synes jeg ikke var særlig interessant at blive mødt af folk som havde problemer med deres selvværd som så startede med at hævde sig selv for at sige man gør ting forkert for så at tilgive en bagefter, hvor jeg sagde 'godt vejr' eller lignende go så gik jeg videre ikke. Der kan jeg se at de er decideret sure på en, så der skal ikke meget til. Men branding, ja, altså LuluLemon, hvor mange arbejder der for dem? Yogatøj, hvad er det en ti år gammelt eller sådan noget. Min svoger havde lige været i San Fransisco i noget konference og snakket med en af dem fra selskabet, de handler med bæredygtigt yogatøj. 15000 ansatte har de nu, eller kreeret 15000 arbejdspladser. Ti år gammelt, cirka. Der kan man se alle vores politikere og de der ting med deres branding af traditionelle industrier bibeholdt i live, altså hvis de så muligheden for eksempel for cannabis og bæredygtig produktion af tøj. Alt skulle i princippet gøres bæredygtigt eller bare blive kaldt normalt, og så kunne vi sætte dødningehoveder på alt det der gift-gølg. Men i dag har vi jo lavet det omvendte, hvor man skal betale penge for at blive certificeret organisk eller økologisk, men hvis du bare har tænkt dig at forurene forbrugere eller nabolag kan du bare fortsætte som du plejer. Hvor jeg vil sige at jeg havde lyst til at gå ind med en riffel på DRs fjernsyn og sige nu er det mig der bestemmer, I har 5 år til at sadle om, ellers begynder der decideret at falde dagbøder af. I producerer fuldstændig ligegyldig ting, som kun ødelægger og fordærver folk i forvejen. Så vi kunne gøre hævd på de ressourcer, der er grønne og som vi kunne bruge til noget bedre. At alle den slags virksomheder burde egentlig bare få foden og fingeren, men det er dem, der er beskyttet af vores politikere og den slags, hvorimod skal du gå den alternative vej skal du betale for at få certificeringer og de der ting. Det skulle være lige omvendt. DE skulle betale dagbøder for at have deres dødningehoveder på deres giftprodukter og dem, der vælger at gå bæredygtigt til skulle nærmest støttes. Der har vist sig at vi gære det modsatte. Certificeringerne er vigtig, ikke, de fleste restauratører jeg kender der har organiske ting har valgt at lade være med at blive certificeret for de gider ikke lave dobbelt regnskaber og dobbelt af alting, men der står på deres hjemmeside at alle deres varer er organiske og det er det de søger, og at de ikke søger nogen certificering. De gider ikke den fordyrende proces og dobbelt regnskab. Så igen, handelsændring og de præsenter det som regel på en super fed måde, men det viser sig som regel at være sådan lidt modsat. Men ja, branding, jeg ved sgu ikke andet end at jeg er for dum til at forstå mere.

OLIVER: Ja, jeg tror egentlig også det er det.

FREDERIK: Ja, vi er done.

OLIVER: Tak for det.

JACOB: Jamen selv tak.

Neil - 07.03.18
Oliver: Hvis du vil starte med at fortælle dit navn, og hvor gammel du er

N: Jeg hedder Neil, og jeg er 24 år gammel.

Oliver: hvor længe har du været medlem af Tinkuy?

N: Siden november måned (2017)

Oliver: så 4-5- måneder

N: ja.

Oliver: hvad fik dig til at starte?

Neil: Primært fordi jeg var sådan lidt i en krise i mit liv. Jeg havde svært ved at relatere til mine nuværende venner og jeg havde brug for at snakke med nogen som havde det samme mindset som mig, samme værdier. Min mavefornemmelse sagde bare at "Tinkuy, det er der, du skal hen. Det skal du prøve". Det talte meget til

mig, den måde det var det her frie space. Det er rart at være her, man kan bare være her så lang tid man vil, og så er der forskellige classes, man kan deltage i, og det synes jeg bare er helt fantastisk. Det er ligesom at være hjemme, basically.

Frederik: Hvad laver du, når du er i Tinkuy?

Neil: Æhm, primært for træningens skyld, Yoga, jeg elsker kundalini yoga. Og så er der en gang imellem venner der tager herned og hygger lidt, laver mad, og ser film, og så nogle små-events i weekenderne. Det varierer lidt. Der er nogle gange vildt nice events i weekenden hvor jeg oplever autenticitet og kærlighed

Oliver: Hvad for nogle events har du været til i weekenden

Neil: Jeg har været til kakaoceremoni, og DanceMandala, hvor man bare danser, og så har jeg været til sådan noget shamanistisk energiarbejder, hvor man fokuserer meget på vejrtrækning, og kan bruge det som værktøj

Frederik: du nævnte at du gik hernede fordi der var nogle værdier, der stemte overens med dine værdier – hvad er det for nogen værdier?

Neil: Det er fred, kærlighed, autenticitet, og at man på en måde slipper den her maske for at vise noget man ikke egentlig er og der er plads til at være sig selv, der er plads til alle. Det, der er virkelig fantastisk ved det her community er, at alle accepterer hinanden

Frederik: Hvordan kommer fred og kærlighed til udtryk?

Neil: Det er selve atmosfæren, energien, der er her, og stemningen, der er her.

Frederik: Hvad er kærlighed for dig?

Neil: Kærlighed er, at man giver noget, uden at forvente noget tilbage.

Frederik: Hvor tit kommer du her?

Neil: Cirka tre fire gange om ugen

Frederik: De ting, du så oplever hernede og de værdier, hvor meget fylder det i dit liv, også når du ikke er i Tinkuy?

Neil: Rigtig meget.

Frederik: Hvad med det sociale, altså de mennesker du har mødt gennem Tinkuy. Mødes du nogensinde med dem uden for Tinkuy?

Neil: Ja, jeg har mødt en der hedder Oliver, mega nice.

Frederik: Flot fyr

Neil: Og så har jeg mødt nogle enkelte andre, bare snakke på en cafe og sådan noget.

Frederik: er der nogen bestemte ting hernede, enten steder eller redskaber eller noget, der har en særlig betydning for det her sted? Det kan også være rum, du nævnte atmosfære før. Er der noget der betyder noget særlig for Tinkuy, hvor det ikke ville være der samme uden?

Neil: Det vil jeg nok sige musikken.

Frederik: Bliver der spillet radio?

Neil: Når der er events for eksempel, når der er classes bliver der spillet musik, og her i loungen er der noget stille og rolig musik

Frederik: hvad er det for noget musik?

Neil: rar og afslappende musik

Frederik: Okay, er der sådan noget mediterende, langsomt eller hvor er vi henne? Er det sådan noget stille og roligt pop?

Neil: Det er sådan noget meditationsmusik.

Oliver: Er der nogen fysiske objekter, hvor du tænker det her, det er en del af Tinkuy?

Neil: Altså, jeg kan ikke lide at definere ting med objekter, men nu hvor I siger du, så gør det på en måde med de ting, der hænger på væggene. Drømmefangere, lys på bordene. Jeg føler det gør det hyggeligt at være her.

Frederik: Levende lys?

Neil: Ja, det stimulerer ens sanser.

Frederik: Du nævnte kakaoceremoni, er der nogen ritualer hernede? Ikke nødvendigvis kun classes, men nogle ting, som man gør, en måde man gør ja, det kan være alt, der er specielt Tinkuy? Altså noget der bliver gentaget, traditioner, normer

Neil: Smil på læben, et kram. Det er en gave, når man smiler til hinanden. De kram vi giver er ikke et overfladisk kram, men et oprigtigt kram. Fra hjertet.

Oliver: Så der er flere kram hernede, i forhold til udenfor?

Neil: Ja helt sikkert

Oliver: Er det imellem alle, eller dem man kender?

Neil: For mig, når jeg får øjenkontakt med en person og får lyst til et kram, så gør jeg det. Jeg kan ikke rigtigt tale for andre mennesker, men mere for mig selv.

Frederik: er der sådan andre fællesskaber ligesom Tinkuy, som har en betydning for dig i dit liv?

Neil: Ja, jeg dyrker Kung Fu ved siden af, og det er meget maskulinitet i den kultur. Der er meget disciplin, der er meget ret efter shifu, som betyder mester. Det er meget yang, sådan maskulinitet i den kultur. I forhold til her, det er mere yin, femininitet. Personlig synes jeg det er mega godt for mig at balancere mellem de to energier i stedet for at have for meget af det andet eller af det ene.

Frederik: Prøv at uddybe hvordan det er en feminin energi her.

Neil: Det er igen med at give slip og bare være sig selv. Og sensitivitet og tålmodighed. Åbne op for selve de feminine energier hvor min Kung Fu skole – der er meget stolthed, mission, formål. Hvorfor gør vi det vi gør? For at træne os op, for at disciplinere os selv gennem disse øvelser. Det er ikke bare det fysiske, det er også det mentale og det spirituelle og det emotionelle. Du kan lære at disciplinere dig selv på et helt andet niveau.

Frederik: Så hvis du måske går videre, hvad får du så ud af en yoga class? Hvorfor kommer du til en yoga class contra en Kung Fu class for eksempel.

Neil: Det er for at huske min feminine side og give slip og ikke hele tiden prøve at kontrollere ting. Maskulinitet det er er kontrollere hele tiden, kontrollere en situation, hvilket en yoga class skal du ikke kontrollere, du skal gå længere ned i en stilling – det kan du ikke, du bliver nødt til at acceptere hvor du er og give slip

Oliver: Så det er sådan for at få balancen for dig?

Neil: Ja. Og så kan jeg på en måde reflektere i mit personlige liv, hvor jeg kan bruge det.

Frederik: Vi er lidt interesserede i – vi ser i andre communities at brands og mærker har en vis rolle og en vis betydning for de folk som laver det, de ting de forbruger og de måder de gør tingene på. Er der nogen brands der har en betydning hernede?

Neil: For at være helt ærlig så tror jeg ikke folk tænker så meget over brands hernede, det er mere oplevelser. Hvordan det praktiske er og selve omstændighederne, det betyder ikke så meget.

Oliver: Hvad med for eksempel folk påklædning? Er der nogen træk – det behøver ikke nødvendigvis være brands – eller at folk ikke har brands på, som du har lagt mærke til?

Frederik: er der nogen kendetegn?

Neil: Jeg kan ikke rigtigt komme på noget lige nu,

Frederik: Ville du kunne genkende en person hvis han skulle til yoga class eller ville man ikke kunne se om han skulle til fodbold, yoga class eller i byen? Hvad for noget tøj har han på?

Neil: Det er noget meget afslappet tøj, du prøver at fiske efter. (haha) Men det er afslappet tøj. Jeg tror alle synes det skal være dejligt at gå til en class, det skal ikke være alt for tight, det skal være bekvemt.

Oliver: Hvad med dem, der bare sidder og er i loungen og bare er her? Hvis du skulle beskrive hvad for noget tøj man har på, når man bare er hernede for at være?

Neil: Det er bare hverdagstøj, deres eget tøj. Det, der definerer dem, som personer. Igen accepterer vi alle hernede. Der er plads til alle. Hvordan du ser ud og hvad du har på.

Oliver: Så der er diversitet i tøjstil?

Neil: Ja, helt sikkert.

Frederik: Også rummelighed siger du? Som i at der er plads?

Neil: Ja.

Frederik: er der nogensinde nogen politiske aktiviteter? Fylder politik på nogen måde noget hernede?

Neil: Jeg kunne forestille mig, at folk er mere grøn her. De fokuserer meget på at dyrke miljøet og hvordan samfundet kan være bedre på at fokusere på økologi, mindre forbrug, mere recycle. Og så sådan lidt 'Alternativet' værdier

Frederik: Hvad med madvaner? Er der nogen andre madvaner?

Neil: Jeg er selv veganer. Jeg tror i hvert fald en stor del af communitiet er vegetarer eller veganere.

Oliver: Hvad med dem, der ikke er vegetarer? Er der nogen, ja, hvordan tænker man om dem?

Neil: igen, alt er accepteret. Bare fordi jeg er veganer har jeg ikke lov til at dømme dig som person, sådan fungerer det slet ikke. Det er en personlig beslutning, og det er op til en selv hvornår man har lyst til at gøre

noget. Fordi vi har forskellige sandheder og vi har forskellige værdier. Og det skal man bare acceptere. Acceptere alle mennesker som de er.

Oliver: Har du en yogamåtte derhjemme?

Neil: Nej.

Oliver: Okay. Kunne du tænke dig, sådan, overvejer du at købe en?

Neil: Nej.

Oliver: Okay, hvad med de yogamåtter der er hernede, er der nogen du synes, der er bedre en andre?

Neil: Ja, jeg er rimelig, ikke ligeglad, men jeg tænker ikke så meget over hvilken farver, hvilket mærke det er, nej. Jeg tager bare den, der er ledig.

Frederik: Hvordan, er der nogen online aktiviteter omkring Tinkuy?

Neil: Online?

Frederik: På nettet. Jeg ved i har en hjemme side og en fb gruppe.

Neil: Altså vi har en fb gruppe hvor folk skriver en gang imellem, hvor der er forskellige events ude for Tinkuy. Så kan de for eksempel spørge om folk havde lyst til at komme med. Retreats og tilbud.

Frederik: Skriver du nogensinde derinde?

Neil: Nej, det har jeg ikke

Frederik: Er det primært tilbud om events, der er derinde?

Neil: Ja, både interne og eksterne events.

Oliver: Er der også interaktion, diskussion, eller deling af viden eller sådan andre former for interaktion derinde?

Neil: Det kunne jeg godt forestille mig. Jeg har kun været medlem af gruppen i 5 måneder. Jeg kunne godt forestille mig der kunne være nogle tips og værktøjer til medlemmerne, helt sikkert.

Oliver: men det er ikke noget du selv bruger eller interagere med?

Neil: Nej jeg læser meget, så jeg får min viden fra det jeg læser på nettet, de bøger jeg læser og artikler. Så jeg elsker at få nye værktøjer til at bruge i mit liv indenfor selvudvikling og spiritualitet.

Frederik: Føler du der er noget sådan form for hierarki inde i Tinkuy? Nogen ældre, nye medlemmer eller nogen der hjælper de andre?

Neil: altså der er ikke et bestemt hierarki. Altså det jeg føler, når jeg er her er, at der ikke er hierarki, så er alle i øjenhøjde med hinanden. Selv dagliglederen Johan, som er, i bund og grund, toppen af hierarkiet, men det føles ikke sådan.

Frederik: Hvad er hans rolle?

Neil: Han er daglig leder, det er ham, der styrer centeret her.

Frederik: Hvad betyder det?

Neil: At alt fungerer, ja, hvis der er noget, hvis der er nogen problemer med nogen højttalere ellers sådan, så er det ham.

Frederik: okay, så han sørger for at det kører smooth?

Neil: Ja, basically.

Frederik: Nice.

Oliver: Jamen det var egentlig det så.

Neil: Ja.

Frederik: Yes

Oliver: Ja, perfekt.

Frederik: Ja, coolio

Johan - Culture - 24.04.18

Frederik: Vi vil som sagt gerne undersøge lidt om kulturen her i Tinkuy. Hvis du bare selv vil starte med at sige lidt i løse termer, hvad er kulturen i Tinkuy?

Johan: Ja, hvad er kulturen i Tinkuy? Der er en kultur hvor man møder hinanden nysgerrigt. Der er også en imødekommenhed. En klang af imødekommenhed i kulturen. Der er også tradition eller kultur med hensyn til berøring og kram, man kan godt sidde tæt i en sofa. Berøring er også en del af kulturen. Et bredt udtryk også. Der er en mangfoldighed. Spredte aldersgrupper og interesser, seksuel orientering, politisk orientering. Det er sådan en bred mangfoldighed.

Frederik: Imødekommenhed og åbenhed, er det noget du forbinder med de her berøring og kram? Er det noget tillid, eller hvorfor betyder berøring noget hernede?

Johan: de hænger sammen. Altså berøring betyder noget, fordi vi har erfaring for, at det at man bliver berørt det får en tilbage i kroppen. Altså man mærker sin krop igen, man kan mærke en vibration eller varme i kroppen, man har bare sådan en bevidsthed om sin krop. Og det har vi et ønske om at den kropskontakt. Altså til sin egen krop, men også via mødet – med berøring fra andre kan man opnå den kropsbevidsthed.

Frederik: Mener du så i Tinkuy eller som mennesker eller dig, når du siger vi vil gerne alt det her?

Johan: Ja så tænker jeg på Tinkuy eller os her i Tinkuy. Det er en del af det, vi gerne vil.

Frederik: hænger det her med at mærke sin egen krop, sammen hænger det sammen med nogen af de classes, der bliver givet?

Johan: Helt sikkert. Altså yoga er jo en måde at mærke sin krop på. Og også mange af de andre workshops. Der er workshops der har berøring, conscious touch, som et tema. Altså det kommer også til udtryk i, det kan være en kakaoceremoni, hvor man kigger hinanden i øjnene eller sidder måske også tæt i en cirkel og holder hinanden i hænderne.

Frederik: Så man behøver ikke røre hinanden, det kan også være nærvær, måske?

Johan: Helt sikkert, ja. Altså det der med at aflæse hinanden eller finde ud af hvor man er henne i dag. Imødekommenhed og respekt for hinanden og nysgerrighed i forhold til hinanden.

Frederik: Hvad betyder det nysgerrige?

Johan: For mig er det det åbne, altså det er at man – altså der er et ønske om at blive følt i et givent møde, det kan være det her interview. Ja, jeg har ikke planlagt på forhånd hvad jeg skal sige i interviewet, og I har ikke planlagt helt nøjagtigt hvad I skal spørge om. Vi mødes for at se hvad der sker i mødet. Så det kræver sådan en fælles nysgerrighed. Man kan sige at hvis ikke man er enige om det, hvis der er en der har en agenda, så bliver det svært at have nysgerrighed. Derfor er det en vigtig værdi.

Oliver: Så det er en væren i nuet?

Johan: Ja, en undersøgende tilgang til det vi lægger op til. Vi siger også til vores undervisere at der er plads til eksperimenter, det er et sted hvor man kan eksperimentere, man kan gå ind i undervisningslokalet med en intension, uden at vide hvordan undervisningen skal forløbe. Noget af det siger vi konkret til underviserne, som siger 'nå ja okay, det kan man selvfølgelig også'. De fleste er stadigvæk lidt uvant med at skulle stå som facilitator uden en plan. Eller uden faste planer.

Frederik: Vil du måske sætte nogle ord på – en ting er, at I gerne vil nysgerrigheden, og det er rart når man er i nysgerrigheden, men hvorfor vil I gerne nysgerrigheden frem for ikke at have den?

Johan: Altså man kan sige hvis ikke vi har den, ikke, så mener jeg at genskaber man gamle ting, det vi kender. Så er det en grammofonplade der kører, og så ved man – det kan godt være at samtalen er sjov eller den er meget rar og tryg på den måde, men den kører i en rille. Og det, der er behov for, er egentlig at vi sammen skal finde ud af, hvad det er, vi ønsker skal blive født imellem os

Oliver: Er det 'vi' i Tinkuy, eller 'vi' som folk?

Johan: Det er helt overordnet os som samfund. Så kan vi sige det her [Tinkuy] er en mini afspejling af samfundet.

Frederik: Du siger du gerne vil, at der skal ske noget nyt og det er spænende, og ellers går man i ring, så gentager man fortiden. Er der noget galt med fortiden? Eller hvad er problemet i at gå i ring?

Johan: Problemet er at vi er ved at køre planeten i sænk. Altså konkret med forurening, plastik i havene, vi fælder træer for hurtigt i forhold til hvor mange der bliver plantet. Ja, smog i byerne. Jeg tænker mest på forurening faktisk, men også psykisk. Psykisk forurening eller psykisk dårlige forhold i samfundet på arbejdspladser.

Frederik: er det en fornemmelse du har eller er det noget folk også fornemmer i Tinkuy?

Johan: Ja vi fornemmer det, men det er bygget på – der er mange undersøgelser der viser, at der er meget stress, forurening er ret håndgribeligt. Altså der er også mange, altså det bygger på nogle fakta omkring hvor mange er på lykkepiller.

Frederik: så folk har det ikke så godt som de kunne have?

Johan: der er helt klart et potentiale for at vi kan have det bedre vil jeg sige.

Frederik: Ja, det er ligesom bare for at komme frem til, at det er tanken bag at man ikke vil gentage ting, man vil gerne noget nyt.

Johan: Hvad er det nye? Det er, at det er en anden måde at være i verden på, hvorfor er det at vi gør det? Det er der hvor man kommer frem med hele sig selv. Man samskaber ting. Det kræver faktisk ret meget at være nysgerrig, at have denne her åbne tilgang fordi der ikke er de her faste uniformer indeni man kan læne sig op ad.

Frederik: Kan man snakke om at det her dårlige energier eller stress giver en form for ubalance i hverdagen og i samfundet? Sådan personligt, menneskeligt.

Johan: Jeg vil sige der er en ubalance i samfundet i dag.

Frederik: Hvordan spiller – en ting er hvad Tinkuy gør – hvordan spiller yoga og meditation ind i det?

Johan: De aktiviteter vi har, har til formål at man kan mærke sig selv. Man får kontakt til sig selv. Den spirituelle fitness – det er jo et spirituelt fitnesscenter – den træning, er en træning der gør at man kan mærke sig selv

Oliver: For at få det skåret helt ud i pap – med at mærke sig selv, hvad lægger du i det?

Johan: helt konkret så er det for eksempel kropskontakt. Man kan mærke, lige nu kan jeg mærke 'gulvet er koldt under min højre fod, jeg kan mærke en summen i min højre hånd, jeg kan mærke min mave'. Altså kropslige fornemmelser i sin egen krop. Det er at mærke sig selv. Udover det er det også den der åbne tilgang, den hører med vil jeg sige. Hvis man har en fastlåst lidt anspændt tilgang, så kan man ikke mærke sig selv.

Frederik: Er det også noget med, nu siger du mærke sig selv, er det også noget med at mærke andre? En ting er at kunne åbne op for at mærke sig selv, men skal man også åbne op for at mærke andre?

Johan: I første omgang er det at mærke sig selv. Det er forudsætningen for at kunne møde den anden og mærke hvor den anden er. Det er ligesom der, hvor der skabes noget af fællesskabet. Så det er helt klart en del af det.

Frederik: Kan man sige at i Tinkuy, der har man ligesom en ting i meditation og yoga hvor man kommer og mærker sig selv, hvad så med alt det andet? Fællesskabet, og man møder andre. Hvad er det så et udtryk for i forhold til den her proces?

Johan: Det er et udtryk for et eksperiment. Og det er måske det væsentligste der foregår her i loungen hvor folk mødes og snakker og drikker te og laver planer sammen.

Frederik: Hvorfor er det mere væsentligt?

Johan: Det er mere væsentligt fordi i det daglige og i det ugentlige program i salen, der kører det fast. Det er meditation, det er yoga, det er de her aktiviteter. Der kender man formen på det. Man går ind med sin yogamåtte, eller man går ind og skal danse en time. Og så går man ud igen. Der er en kendt form på det, vil jeg sige. Men i forhold til at downloade den kreativitet der er nødvendig, det sker mere i møderne. Og den kreativitet der er nødvendig, det er i forhold til det skifte vi står i som samfund.

Frederik: kan man måske sige så, at denne her nysgerrighed og at ville noget spontant som ikke er planlagt, at den er der mere i det sociale rum end i workshops og det daglige?

Johan: Den er der også i høj grad i workshops, men det er nogle rammer. Der er det ligesom – det er mere åbent ude i fællesrummet. Men den er helt klar med i workshops.

Frederik: Er workshops'ne mere noget med at lære noget, ikke kun teacher-elev men fra hinanden, hvor det andet er mere åbnet og kreativt eller hvordan kan man se det?

Johan: Jeg oplever i høj grad at man lærer meget af hinanden i fællesrummet. Man snakker sammen, man deler erfaring. Også bare det at dele sin sårbarhed og dele den der intimitet der opstår. Der er noget healing, der er noget læring i det. Det er lidt mere planlagt i salen til undervisning. Der er en væsentlig del i salen, det er det her med at det er et rum hvor man kan træde frem med en ny side af sig selv. Vi har eksemplet på nogen der har været i universitetsmiljøet i mange år og så vil være yogalærer. Eller man holder en workshop hvor man deler noget. Næste uge skal Uffe holde et danseevent første gang. Så man prøver sig selv af. Så det er også en del af det.

Frederik: I forhold til at mærke sig selv og måske en grundfølelse af at der er noget galt i samfundet, noget ubalance, hvad er det så mere specifikt at Tinkuy så vil i samfundet eller gør for samfundet?

Johan: Altså det Tinkuy gør for samfundet, det er at man øger harmoni og mindsker stress. Når vi er i harmoni, når der ikke er nogen der stiller for mange krav til os, så udfolder der sig en naturlig kreativitet, så der er et bidrag med kreativitet. Vi sætter de rammer hvor kreativiteten kan udfolde sig.

Oliver: Så det er noget med at de ting der skal udfolde sig, at lade dem komme indefra, fra kreativitet i stedet for at planlægge dem og lade dem komme mere ovenfra?

Johan: Helt sikkert, der er en indefra og ud tankegang.

Frederik: Nu endte vi meget hurtigt på et abstrakt og spændende plan, men hvis det prøver at tage det lidt ned på det daglige og praktiske i Tinkuy, kan vi så ved samme spejling tage fat i de her – åbenhed og mangfoldighed, du snakker om? Hvordan kommer det til udtryk? Og her tænker jeg primært i det sociale rum. Hvordan kan man mærke, hvis man er ny, at der er plads til en, eller føle at der er plads til andre?

Johan: Jeg tror at det der med at man kommer ind og så er det jo ikke altid at vi opdager at der kommer en ny ind, så det er op til en selv at opdage hvor tingene er, eller spørge folk hvor tingene er. Det er ikke sådan at en kommer hen og siger hej, nu skal jeg vise dig – det gør vi nogle gange og siger 'du ser ud til at være ny, vil du have en rundvisning'? Nye de finder selv frem til tingene. Man kan godt sige at de er overladt til sig selv, men der er et trygt space.

Frederik: Man kan sige nu er det et åbent og mangfoldigt fællesskab. Hvordan får I det til at – ikke at I gør det problemfrit – men hvordan gør man, at det ikke går i kaos? Er der nogen form for styring?

Johan: Godt spørgsmål. Der er ikke nogen styring, men der er en intention. Jeg tror selv, eller har en overbevisning om, at denne her morgenmeditation hvor vi mediterer i 40 minutter i stilhed, det er en del af – det sætter på en måde tonen for dagen. Dem, der så kommer, dem vi møder efter en meditation, det er dem, der skal til yoga. Så er der måske overlap med dem, der skal ind. Det er mere uhåndgribeligt, men der er en intention om at rumme den her mangfoldighed, og den er ikke italesat.

Frederik: Hvordan, sådan rent praktisk og rutinemæssigt, så er der nogle – i forhold til at der ikke roder over det hele, og folk for eksempel rydder op – hvordan sådan rent praktisk de her ting. Der er jo nogle forskellige små skilte og beskeder der, som du selv siger, altså hvordan vil du definere hvad det er? Er det nogle regler eller normer eller hvad bliver udtrykt her?

Johan: Det er ikke regler, der er guidning eller vink til hvordan vi er her, kan man sige.

Frederik: Noget best behaviour agtigt?

Johan: Det kan man godt sige, og det er igen en svær balance fordi vi skal heller ikke have 'nå, det er sådan man skal opføre sig her for at passe ind'

Frederik: Så mister man måske lidt kreativitet?

Johan: Ja, det kunne eksempelvis være. Der er jo nogen der er luddovne af nature, og de skal have lov til at være luddovne. Eller så laver der måske en fed workshop en gang i mellem. Eller hjælper ved at have en samtale med en, der er meget givende for den person. Og så andre har 'happy hands is busy hands' eller hvad man kalder det. Så støvsuger de eller gør rent eller et eller andet.

Frederik: Hvornår har man besluttet – og igen, det er jo nok svært at sætte ord på hvem man er, og hvornår det er sket – men hvordan opstår de her normer for hvad best behaviour er? For nogen er det måske logisk at man lige fylder

Johan: Det er jo mig og Tanja som daglig leder, som har besluttet hvad der skal være på væggene i en eller anden grad. Så vi har en indflydelse der – eller har haft. I højere og højere grad bliver det mere og mere selvstyrende. Der har vi taget nogle beslutninger.

Frederik: Siger det noget om at I gerne vil noget med stedet her? Altså, hvis det bare gik som det gik så ville I ikke stå til? Ville I så gribe ind?

Johan: Hvis køkkenet fløddig eller et eller andet?

Frederik: Ja, eller folk begyndte at tale grimt til hinanden eller folk gjorde ting, som måske ikke var en del af tanken eller ikke stemte overen med nogle af værdierne.

Johan: Der har været meget få eksempler på nogen der har talt grimt til hinanden eller været grænseoverskridende. Der har vi talt med den person, som har følt sig, altså, været ked af et eller andet. Ellers har vi ikke gået meget ind i de situationer. Der er en høj grad af tillid til, at vi kan godt selv som fællesskab. Der er ikke nogen mor eller far, der skal løse tingene. Og hvis noget sker, jamen okay, så hvad kan vi lære af det?

Frederik: I forhold til visionen for Tinkuy og at man har en plan for at hjælpe mennesker og samfundet mere og fundet ny energi – hvordan spiller det her med at flytte Tinkuy ind i det? Fysisk.

Johan: Denne her flytning er jo et spændende sted, for vi ved ikke, hvor vi skal flytte hen. Og der har vi jo en intention om at flytte hen i et meget større sted, som har åbnet sig som en mulighed. Der er stadigvæk meget, der skal til før at det sker, men der er mulighed for at forankre noget virkelig nyt, hvor en hel del mennesker vil begynde at mødes i et fællesskab på nogle andre præmisser. Men jeg vil sige selv om vi finder et tilsvarende sted som her, så er der – min mening er, at Tinkuy har en ret stor indflydelse på kulturen i København via dem, der kommer her og oplever hvordan det er. De tager noget af det med sig til andre steder.

Frederik: Hvordan spiller det spirituelle ind i den her – hænger det på nogen måde sammen med denne er proces med at mærke sig selv?

Johan: Spiritualitet det er at være sig selv, at være sit naturlige selv. Det er for mig spiritualitet. Det er i hvert fald en forudsætning for at gøre sig åben for det. Det er et meget godt spørgsmål hvad spiritualitet overhovedet er. Det har jeg ikke noget klart svar på.

Frederik: Hvad kan det gøre for en person at åbne op for spiritualitet af en eller andet grad?

Johan: Der er noget med en – det at være åben for, at der er noget større end en selv, der er noget, der ligger ud over mig. Hvis den slår rod, så begynder man at handle et andet sted fra. Så handler det ikke så meget om mig, mig, mig, men at gøre sig åben, tjene noget større.

Frederik: Er det forskelligt fra et fællesskab af andre mennesker? Det kunne godt lyde som om, det var det du talte om, men er det anderledes?

Johan: Mange fællesskaber har en eller anden fixed behaviour eller en 'sådan gør vi her' og hvis man gør sådan her, så får man klap på skuldrene, og man får anerkendelse, og man bliver måske også anerkendt materielt i det fællesskab. Og det er egentlig ikke spiritualitet for mig. Det er en fortsættelse af ego, en ego-extension på en eller anden måde?

Frederik: Hvordan bliver man belønnet af spiritualitet. Bliver man det?

Johan: Jeg vil sige glæde, at være tilpas i sin krop, være tilfreds. Belønningen er lykke og glæde.

Oliver: Det er selvfølgelig nogle indre belønninger. ER der nogen ydre belønninger for eksempel her i Tinkuy, hvis man er spirituel?

Johan: Altså der er nogle som er meget besværlige at tale med end andre. Hvis ikke man har kropskontakt, hvis ikke man hviler i sig selv, og man skal have et eller andet, så er det bare belastende at være sammen med den person. Det er så min måde at sige det på. Det kan føles energikrævende. Så når I lige spørger nu, så kunne belønningen være, at har man fundet den her indre ro, så vil andre medlemmer være interesseret i at være sammen med den person. Man bliver ikke udelukket, men der er nogen jeg siger ja til at snakke med og nogen jeg siger nej til at snakke med. Jeg kan ikke sige ja til at snakke med dem, der dræner mig. Og sådan gælder det jo for alle. På den måde er der en 'hvad er det jeg gør, siden at nu har prøvet at snakke med nogen tre gange, og de har sagt nej tre gange i træk'. Det kan give noget refleksion og en åbenhed for 'hvad er min opførsel, jeg kunne ændre?'.

Frederik: Vi har snakket noget om samskabelse og fællesskab i Tinkuy. Hvis vi kunne snakke lidt mere om det her med at, ja, hvordan kommer det til udtryk hernede?

Johan: Konkret kan det komme til udtryk ved, at nogle laver workshops sammen. Så er der nogle der spiller musik til en eller anden – kakaoceremoni, så man møder hinanden og laver konkrete ting sammen. Samskabelse er på alle niveauer, der er jo også bare det der møde, hvor man taler sammen og skaber noget sammen via samtale. Og det kan være ideer, det kan være ny inspiration, det kan være ja, nye inspirationer.

Frederik: Vi har tidligere snakket om at mange møblerne er taget med af forskellige folk. Folk kan komme med ting og give ting. Hvordan passer det overens med Tinkuys værdier eller vision?

Johan: I høj grad. Det at det, der hænger på væggene, er noget medlemmerne har haft med, og nogle har måske siddet og tegnet ved bordet en aften, og så er det den tegning vi hænger op – det er ikke et dyrt maleri, der koster 3000 kroner, det signalerer at det faktisk bliver værdsat, det jeg kommer med, det jeg bidrager med. Det er det, vi synes er interessant, det er ikke de eksperter vi kan hive ind udefra eller den fornemme kunst.

Desirée Nielsen 27.04.18

OLIVER: Godt, så er vi i gang. Det første vi godt kunne tænkte os at høre om det er. Hernede der ser vi tit at der er meget kropskontakt; der er ofte lange kram; der er øjenkontant. Det ser vi tit mellem medlemmerne i mange sammenhænge. Både herude (loungen) og til classes. Hvad tror du grunden er til det?

DESIRÉE: Det er sådan set helt bevidst fra starten af. Der har vi sagt, det her er hjertebaseret. Og det er baseret på det hele menneske. Altså modsat det omgivende. Vi værdsætter de ressourcer vi har uanset hvordan det ser ud udadtil. Altså et menneske der har været syg eller måske har været under pres i lang tid og blevet socialt presset. Været på sygedagpenge eller røget af støtten og alt det der. Vi ser det simpelthen holistisk og ser mennesket som det hele menneske og det sæt af ressourcer det her. Og det vil sige at enhver er lige meget værd. Både her i samfundet, det vil sige, at så støtter man hinanden gensidigt i stedet for at konkurrerer. Jeg

er på en måde opdraget til, det har jeg altid strittet imod med næb og klør. Jeg ville engang låne nogle noter af en pige i gymnasiet fordi jeg havde været syg. Og så sagde hun 'det kunne jeg desværre ikke, for så kunne det være at der var nogle andre der klarede sig bedre. Og det er sådan nogle oplevelser i mit liv der har været med til at forme mig. Og jeg tænkte 'What?!' Hende om det, men sådan vil jeg ikke være.

FREDERIK: Hvad har det med kropslig kontakt at gøre?

DESIRÉE: Det har det at gøre at man kommer til at holde af alle mennesker når man ser deres ressourcer og opleve hvem de virkelig er når de får lov at være sig selv. Så er den lige til at kramme, ik? Og så får vi jo efterhånden nogle oplevelser på holdene. Vi har meget sharing men også i almindelighed i mange af kurserne er der circling og sharing og man kan dele hvis man en oplevelse under breathwork. Det er jo ikke obligatorisk, men kan også dele sin stilhed. Men så får man også.. man får noget viden om hinanden som går.. for mig gør det at vi bliver mere og mere gensidigt opbakkende, ik. Men egentlig er det også bare kærlighed der springe fra hjertet, det er ikke noget påtaget. Jeffrey, han lærere folk det. Han er i Hellerup i et center nu. Han siger at det her oxytocin man producerer ved sådan et hjerteknus. Det skal være mere end 4 sekunder langt for så går oxytocinproduktionen i gang. Det går imod alle de stresshormoner vi producere i det her samfund. Han næsten underviste i det. Det skal komme af et ønske, og det gør det når man begynder at forstå hvad det er. Og så er det også at den måde vi mødes her i frihed. Og mange af os har ledt efter noget der var værd at leve for i det her samfund der er præsenteret for os. Og så har vi her fundet, ikke alene et fristed men et sted hvor vi kan realisere hvad vi virkelig gerne vil. Og prøve det af og se hvordan det virker. I har sikkert hørt om beslutningsmodellerne, her? Hvordan virker det hvis det går ud på at man taler sig igennem det, ligesom man fjorde det i de gammeldags native counsels. Og at der ikke er nogen.. Altså man stemmer ikke om noget. Man tryner ikke nogen. Man sidder bare hver i sin egen bobbel, ik. Altså den sunde bobbel i hvert fald. Og det bliver til hver en tid respekteret.

OLIVER: Så du siger at det udspringer fra et ønske fra medlemmer om mere fysisk kontankt?

DESIRÉE: Det gør det for nogen. Det vil jeg ikke sige at det gjorde for mig til at starte med. Jeg har en stor vennekreds, et stort netværk og en stor familie. Jeg har fået renset mig selv ud så jeg har et godt forhold til relationerne i min familie. Men på den anden side så når man lever alene på en hylde på tredje sal. Det har jeg gjort i mange siden jeg gik fra min mand. Altså så er der noget i at det ligesom, det er legalt at være en selv. Jeg er sådan naturligt spontan, kramme-agtig og hjertelig. Sådan lidt bamset. Der er nogle af dem der kalder mig Mama Bear. Så det var ligesom lidt i forlængelse af hvem jeg selv var før, men måske turde være fuldt ud. Sådan har det i hvert fald været for mig. Der er også andre der kommer her bevidt for 'Jeg er altså ensom og jeg kan ikke finde en kæreste'. Og så for mig har det altid været sundt at lære en masse mænd og drenge rigtig godt at kende.Men uden at der er sådan noget flimmer i rummet.

OLIVER: Og flimmer betyder flirten, eller?

DESIRÉE: ja, flimmer ligesom når man går i byen. Det er jeg bare virkelig ikke tilfreds med de måder det foregår på. Så det ægte hjertemøde. Det er mere at man stiller betingelserne til rådighed. Så er jeg holdt op med at være bange i min krop for tæt fysisk kontant. Jeg har ikke været opdraget med ret meget tæt fysisk kontakt. Men det er ligesom kommet ret meget ud af mig. Og så nogle gange hvis jeg giver et nyt medlem et knus så er der nogen der tror jeg har kendt dem i hundrede år, men det har jeg ikke.

FREDERIK: Lidt en anden boldgade. Vi har snakket med Johan og set at mange af de ting der i Tinkuy: Redskaber, stole osv. Det er noget folk selv har haft med. Kan du prøve at sætte nogle ord på hvorfor de har gjort det eller hvad tanken bag har været?

DESIRÉE: Altså vi startede sådan set med lokaler uden noget i. Vi startede inde i det der er cafe nu. Vi sad bare på gulvet med medbragte tæpper og puder. Havde et lille fint indisk tørklæde som dug, havde kopper med. Så faktisk var det ligesom at det opstod naturligt. Og vi havde jo sådan set ingen penge. For alle de penge vi fik samlet fra investorerne de gik jo i at lave anpartsselskabet. Og så kan man også sige at det er et

bærende princip. Det er også bevidst fordi vi laver det vi kalder crowdsourcing da vi samlede pengene. Vi har opdaget at vi trækker på de fysiske ting. Du kan se et bibliotek. Man kan bare låne to bøger så længe man vil. Der er en glæde ved at bidrage. Det har skabt en ansvarlighed. Det her er vores sted. Det er vores hjem. Nogen gange kan det se lidt rodet ud, men på den anden side. Det er ligesom et hjem. Det er vores egne ting. Det er nogle minder og nogle ting der giver mening for os. Også faktisk yogamåtter og puder er donationer, gaver. Vi købte selv langbordene og lamperne. De her stole har vi fået af et center i Hellerup fordi de skulle have nye stole. Jeffrey arbejde begge steder på det tidspunkt. Og nogen synes de ikke er så nice, men der er noget i af dem har vi fået foræret. Og så var der en sofa hvor der var nogen der fik fnat. Folk tænkte den kan renses men Johan sagde 'nej, den skal altså ud' Det er var ikke til at vide om den kunne renses. Inden der var gået tre dage havde vi en ny sofa. Men den nye sofa den blev stjålet. Der blev begået indbrud, og vi bor på nørrebro, altså. Det er sket et par gange. Der gik igen ikke tre dage så havde vi den der. Fordi der er altid nogen der skal flytte eller deres tante skal flytte i noget mindre. Så det der med at der er det her store medlemsgrundlag. Der er altid nogen der lige kan have et eller andet med. Det eneste jeg har bemærket er at det kan være svært hvis man skal bruge transport. Det er altså ikke særlig mange der har bil. Vi er alle sammen sådan nogle økotyper på cykel. Men der nogen der har gjort når vi skulle have fest eller have flyttet noget stort.

FREDERIK: Du snakkede lidt om noget ansvar. Hvordan sikrer man sig at det hele kører rundt. Dagligdagen. At der ikke bliver rodet, at der bliver gjort rent på toiletterne. Hvordan fungerer det her?

DESIRÉE: Hvad er det nu Johan han kalder? Han kalder det en fortløbende øvelse i selvansvar. Og det siger han konsekvent hvis nogen brokker sig over at her roder. Altså fordi det gør der så nogen gange. Men faktisk. Jeg bemærkede at op til cirka 400 medlemmer der stod aldrig en kop næsten. Men da vi blev større end det så sker det nogen gange. Og det sker især i hvis der er gæster udefra. Men så snakkede vi om det i det her Tinkuy Counsel. Og så sagde jeg at jeg har oplevet at når der er mange gæster til en koncert. Mange udefra der ikke kender værdisættet herinde. De er vandt til at man bare kommer og så lader det stå. Det er jo ikke for at være onde, men sådan er de trænede til at gøre i det her samfund. Eller vi er trænede. Men så siger jeg ' Ved i hvad, her i Tinkuy er vi ligesom en familie, vi har selv doneret alle tingene og gør alt arbejdet. Vi hjælper hinanden. Vi vil gerne inviterer jer med i familien. Og yogamåtterne skal ligge der, puderne skal ligge der. Køkkenet er nede for enden, så vasker man lige sin kop. Og skulle der stå en ekstra så napper man også den. Så står der pludselig kun fem kopper tilbage. Eller to. Hvor hvis jeg ikke har sagt noget så er det tit at jeg har stået.. Man er nødt til som torveholder og den sidste går.. det kan være lidt tricky nogle gange. Fordi det ikke er altid at de andre hele dagen igennem har husket at gøre det hele. Men der skal jo i hvert fald være pænt køkken sådan at den første der kommer om morgenen der kommer og skal holde meditation. Der er noget ansvarsfølelse i det. Men det ved alle. Alle de faste lærerer. Alle dem der er vandt til at være torveholdere.

FREDERIK: men der er noget tillid til at de faste medlemmer også lever op til det her?

DESIRÉE: Ja, og så er der samtidig det her med at det vigtigste er at mærke i kroppen. Energien. Hvad har jeg af energi. Hvis nogen har det dårligt eller er slået ud eller syge eller noget andet. Og det bare lykkes dem at komme herned, så er det altså fint. Det er også et bidrag. Det er en del af samskabelsen. Det er noget vi ligesom går meget op i at arbejde på at forstå. At lærer nye medlemmer at her behøver man ikke at smække en facade på. Jeg har været advokatsekretær så jeg ved noget om facader. Det er ikke det eneste jeg har. Også antropolog og spansk. Men der var engang hvor jeg var i praktik hernede.Jeg fik det så godt efter at være hernede og kom faktisk ovenpå efter et lille sammenbrud jeg havde som advokatsekretær. Og så kom jeg ind af døren og så sagde de bare herinde 'Jamen Desirée, hvordan har du det?' og så begyndte jeg bare at græde lige på stedet. Det har jeg da aldrig prøvet før. Selv her plejede jeg også lige ligesom at.. Altså det er jo for ens egen skyld. De andre kan godt tage det. Men det er som om den sidste rest også er i spil og facaden ligesom kan komme ud af en på den måde. Man bliver mødt med varme og åbenhed og kærlighed. Eller også bare får lov at være i fred hvis det er det. Nogen gange har vi haft influenza patienter her. Det er selvfølgelig ikke så godt for smitten. Hvis man har det dårligt og ligger derhjemme og kan ikke komme ovenpå kan det hjælpe med noget socialt kontakt eller bare det at der er nogen. Så det er også noget der bryder med de samfundsnormer. Så skal man holde sig hjemme. Bag lukkede døre.

FREDERIK: Hvilken rolle spiritualitet i Tinkuy?

DESIRÉE: I Tinkuy.. Det spiller en rigtig rigtig stor rolle. Man der er jo alle arter af det. På den måde forstået at.. Det kan forstås på flere måder. Den ene er hvor man er i sin personlige udvikling. Og så var der også en der begyndte at brokke sig over at 'der er også nogen der er så pseudo-spirituelle' Og så siger jeg bare 'ved du hvad. Hjem til dig selv. Der er jo nogen der har gået skridtene før dig og mig. Og det skal vi også gøre foran nogle andre. Altså uden at lege lærere'. For mig er det virkelig den ultimative demontering for det man kaldte en teacher eller en guru. Det at vi her samlever så mange yogaretninger. I har selv set der og mødt mange af dem. Det giver for mig en tryghed som jeg aldrig har fundet i de der stive systemer hvor der er en guru og man skal høre efter det og man skal sidde lige sådan og ikke sådan. Og man må ikke. I ved jeg har gået nogle yogasteder hvor man ikke måtte gå ud og tisse mens der var session. Hvad fanden skal man så gøre. 'Nej, du skal holde dig' Hvad er det for noget at lære mennesker. Og der kan man så sige at her er vi samtidig, det her med at vi tager udgangspunkt i at være hjertebaseret og kropsbaseret. Det vil sige, hvis man har ondt i armen så siger vi 'spørg din arm eller snak med din arm'. Hvis vi siger 'hvad vil jeg lave i dag?' Spørg din krop. Hvad vil du gerne lave. Hvor vil du gerne være lige nu? Vi øver os i at spørge hernede [hjertet] og i hele kroppen i stedet for her [hovedet]. Det gør noget i sig selv og det gør noget i forhold til.. [Interview kortvarigt afbrudt af forbipasserende].

DESIRÉE: Hvor vil jeg hen med det. Jo, så spørger man også sin krop hvilke kurser man vil på. Og for mig er det i sig selv dybt spirituelt. Det at være hjertebaseret. Jeg har prøvet mange ting i mit liv og jeg har også fundet.. Lært at meditere. Var hos en teacher i tyve år, men uden at gå det der skridt fra teacher, spiritual friend til.. Master. Jeg må høre på dig og alt det der. Så her hviler tingene i noget andet og at er ikke dømmende, ikke dømmende overfor andre tankegange eller andre. Ja, altså det er også bare kulturen her. Men det er idésæt der båret af forskellige. I virkeligheden har alle de store religioner noget til fælles når man destillerer det.

FREDERIK: kommer det til udtrykt rituelt på nogen måde? Spiritualiteten.

DESIRÉE: ja, det gør det. Det ligger i nogen af kurserne. Nogen af yogalærerne bruger også mantrasang. Og det er også indbygget i yoga, måske. Men bruges også til ritualerne, ik. De fleste meditationslærere gør det ganske blidt og uformelt. Men lærere ved.. de kan jo ligesom elementerne i det som regel. Når de har taget noget en uddannelse. De er godt draget ind i det. Der er nogen af os der bruger mantras. Det bruger jeg selv meget. Jeg har holdt mange mantras med min ven Belinda. Vi har spillet sammen og sunget, sådan roligt. I det gør jeg altid det at jeg tager nogen fra forskellige traditioner, ikke for forvirringens skyld, men fordi det skal afspejle centerets indhold. Der kan man jo godt bruge noget der er rituelt og det glæder stadig sindet. De fleste har lavet yoga eller et eller andet alligevel. Den connection. Men så laver jeg altid nogle mantra'er hvor jeg selv kan identificere med det man synger. Og har praktiseret på det sådan så jeg har et eller andet at byde ind med. Jeg gider ikke vælge ligesom popsange eller sådan.

OLIVER: Hvad er for dig de mest centrale værdier i Tinkuy

DESIRÉE: I Tinkuy.. Det er hjertebaseret, det er simpelthen nummer 1. Og så er det samskabelse. Og det indbygger jeg også i workshops. Og holistisk. Og det her gensidigt opstående møde. Det er nok… Og så også. Hvis jeg må sige noget.. Det nye paradigme. Vi kan forestille os noget, vi kan ønske os noget, men i virkeligheden ved vi det ikke før vi har prøvet det. Den måde jeg finder det nye paradigme er ved at tage udrensninger med mig selv. Nu er jeg meget barsk til at tage udrensninger med mig selv. Også efter 20 år meditationspuden er jeg vandt til at tage selvansvar. Jeg tror det her er med til at afbalancere mig. Jeg er gået lidt i retræte i ti år. Måske er det godt for mig at afbalancere mig nu i samspil med andre. Jeg kom til at tænke over ordet bløde værdier derhjemme. Det er der nok nogle udeforstående som ville sige vi har. Det man også sige at vi har. Det her hjertebaseret. Men egentlig er det super til ansvarsstillende fordi du har hele ansvaret selv. For hvad du rummer og hvad du sender ud. Og samtidig er der en stor forståelse for når du har det skidt eller ikke optimalt. Man kan også kalde det medmenneskelighed eller compassion. Men det er ikke sådan fluffy

en. Man skal også have det med sig selv. Man må også godt sige fra. Man skal mærke hvad man vil være med til. I min ansættelseskontrakt som praktikant stod der. Der skrev Johan hvad arbejdsgiveren forventer af Desirée. 'Jeg forventer at Desirée mærker i sig selv hvad hun gerne vil være med til og hvad hun ikke vil være med til'

OLIVER: Ja, jamen så vil vi sige tak for snakken

DESIRÉE: selv tak, det var da en fornøjelse